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AN
A P O L O G Y
FOR

The BELIEVERS

IN THE

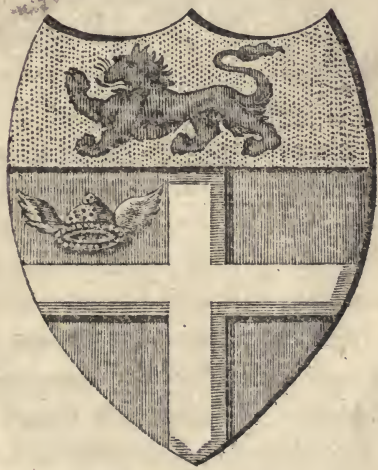
SHAKSPEARE - PAPERS,

WHICH WERE EXHIBITED

IN NORFOLK-STREET.

QUI ALTERUM INCUSAT PROBRI, EUM IPSUM SE INTUERI
OPORTET. PLAUT.

AND IN THE REPROOF OF THIS [*Inquiry*] LIES THE JEST.
POINS.



L O N D O N :

Printed for THOMAS EGERTON, Whitehall.

1797.

THE
LONDON
MERCANTILE

AND
MARINE

INSURANCE COMPANY

OF LONDON

AND

OF THE

INDIAN OCEAN

AND

THE

WEST INDIES

AND

THE

AFRICA

AND

THE

AMERICA

AND

THE

ASIA

AND

THE

ANTARCTIC



THE
ADVERTISEMENT.

IF Mr. Malone, in his zeal for detecting the *Miscellaneous Papers*, which were exhibited as Shakspeare's; and which, with little help from others, had already detected themselves, had written, instead of *his* INQUIRY, a pamphlet in plain prose; stating his objections, without irony, and submitting his documents, without scoffs; thereby impugning fraud, without asserting fiction, and convincing opponents, without rousing adversaries; no one would have answered what few would have read; since a cheat exploded is a cheat no more.

But, in his *high-blown* pride, he was little solicitous to dissemble his *free contempt* for those, who, for a time, thought differently from him on disputable points; while they were influenced by reasonings, which will not soon be confuted. He was, by those motives, induced to scatter his *wilful abuse*, with a ready pen, throughout *his Inquiry*, against those, whom he terms "partizans of fraud," "ringleaders of imposition," "hardened offenders;" thus, *turning his pens to lances*; and, by a *scornful rhyme*, endeavouring to make their names *fixed figures for the time of scorn*, to point his *slow unmoving finger* at. Amidst this *tempest of provocation*, he sent them a *roisting challenge* to defend, or retract, their opinions; thinking, doubtless, to *strike amazement to their drowsy spirits*.

The Believers, indeed, felt, that *extremity is the trier of spirits*. Nevertheless; as men attacked, they merely act on
the

the defensive, in making this *Apology*; as Englishmen, who had received many a blow, they, in their *desperate turn*, barely fend back his arrows, but without their venom; and as scholars, antiquaries, and heralds, they only act agreeably to their *charter*, and *their customary rights*, when they resist the tyranny of a Dictator in the republic of letters; without vindicating the *Miscellaneous Papers*, which they acknowledge to be spurious: yet; they do not admit Mr. Malone's principle, that our whole *Archæology* may be misrepresented, for the purpose of detecting a literary fraud; nor, do they allow, that the said republic ought to be invaded in its limits, or disturbed in its quiet, by his discharge of *this inundation of mistempered humour*, for the gratification of an *indiscreet zeal*.

They will only add what Johnson remarked of Hanmer: BUT, I MAY, WITHOUT INDECENCY, OBSERVE, THAT NO MAN SHOULD ATTEMPT TO TEACH WHAT HE HAS NEVER LEARNED HIMSELF.

[MACBETH. MDCCXLV.]

POSTSCRIPT:

The stamp in the Title-page shows to the curious eye *the arms of the Revels*: and, the *Tail-piece* exhibits to the inquisitive dramatist the seal of the office of the Revels, during the reigns of five sovereigns, under the KILLIGREWS.

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APOLLOLOGY
FOR THE
BELIEVERS
OF THE
SHAKSPEARE-PAPERS.

I HAVE the honour to appear at the bar of this critical (*a*) court; in order to shew cause, why an information shall not be filed, by the public accuser, against the believers of the papers, which have been attributed to Shakspeare, for having committed the aggravated crimes of being “the credulous partizans of folly and (*b*) imposture;” of thinking for themselves; and judging from

(*a*) See *the Session of the Poets*, in the *State Poems*, 1703, vol. i. p. 206.

Apollo, concern'd to see the transgressions,
That our poultry scribblers daily commit,
Gave orders once more to summon a sessions,
Severely to punish the abuses of wit.

(*b*) Mal. Inquiry, 366.

B

evidence.

evidence. I am not, however, instructed by those believers, who certified, under their hands, the genuineness of those Shakspeariana: Nor, am I instructed by those believers, who retain their original belief to the present day. Such being the parties; I will proceed, if this court will grant me its indulgent attention, and favour me with its accustomed patience, to show cause why an information should not be filed against those believers, who, claiming the right of fair discussion, and of free exemption from the authority of a dictator, within the republic of letters, are ambitious of appearing in this enlightened presence, without being deemed “some untutor’d youths, unskilful in the world’s false forgeries.”

— § I. —

THE GENERAL ARGUMENT.

OF SHAKSPEARE, it cannot be asserted, as of conquerors, in every period, that *he left a name, at which the world grew pale*. Shakspeare was the delight of his own time; and became the admiration of after-ages. He was born on the 23d of April 1564, a day, propitious to genius, fortunate for our island, and

7

happy

happy for mankind. He was produced in the gay season of nature, during a resplendent reign of genius and talents. Nor, did Shakspeare contest the palm of poetry with “ puny powers :” He rose to the highest eminence, after a strenuous competition with some of the greatest poets, which any clime had produced, in any age. The nation, at length, claimed him as her own. And, Englishmen, when they travelled amongst the lettered inhabitants of the Continent, valued themselves, and were valued by others, as the countrymen of Shakspeare. Whoever, then, offers a purposed dishonour to Shakspeare, commits a national offence. And he, who designedly publishes spurious papers, as the real productions of Shakspeare, does him real dishonour. I am, therefore, ready to admit, that the partizans of such “ folly and imposture,” if such there be, ought to be proceeded against, in this court, as

“ ————— against feats,

“ So crimeful, and so capital in nature.

Yet, he, who assumes the character of a public accuser, ought not to commit *crimeful feats* himself. From him, fairness of proceeding, whilst detecting foulness, and candour of representation, whilst prosecuting imposi-

tion, were to be expected (c). Of all others, he ought not to accuse those, whom he has himself led to the transgression: He ought not, in this equitable court, *to take advantage of his own wrong*, in moving for an information against them; who, in forming their judgment of the authenticity of the *Miscellaneous Papers*, which were offered to their transient inspection, as the genuine writings of Shakspeare, only drew a fair deduction from the previous arguments of the public accuser: He had diligently shown (d) that, in the archives of Shakspeare's descendants, some of his fragments may yet be found; and from this information, the believers inferred, that these might probably be the expected fragments: The public ac-

(c) The candour of Mr. Malone began to slumber in the sixth page of his Inquiry. By suppressing the qualifying words of the Prefacer to the "MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS," namely, "As far as he has been able to collect the sentiments of the before-mentioned men of taste, antiquaries, and heralds," the public accuser has given that qualified assertion of unanimity an untrue direction; and thereby misrepresented the Prefacer, and consequently injured the men of taste, antiquaries, and heralds, who had inspected the papers, and had delivered their sentiments, with a greater, or a less, degree of reserve.

(d) Shakf. Edit. 1790, vol. i. p. 41.

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cuser had actually published *the declaration of faith of John Shakspeare*, which had been discovered in the house of (e) Shakspeare; and the believers, when they beheld *Shakspeare's profession of faith*, naturally concluded that, in a religious age, a pious poet might have followed the example of his fathers. Mr. Malone still (f) insists, that fragments of Shakspeare may even now be found; because every circumstance about that illustrious poet has been discovered, either by the efforts of diligence, or by the accidents of chance: Yet, he scoffs at those "profound scholars, antiquaries, and heralds," who are so credulous as to believe upon his predictions; and, however disappointed by his declarations, and retractions;

"Yet hope, would fain subscribe, and tempt belief."

The literary world had not been troubled with the scoffs of Mr. Malone, had his candour of inquiry, and powers of ratiocination, been equal to his activity of research; because he would have seen, that the facts, which he had, with diligence, ascertained, led inquisitive men to infer from them, that much was still

(e) *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 298.

(f) Advertisement, annexed to his Inquiry.

to be found, with regard to Shakspeare, by similar diligence, and lucky accidents. The active editor had thus shewn, that Shakspeare died, at the age of fifty-two, on the 23d of April 1616; leaving his daughter Sufanna, and her husband, Doctor John Hall, his executors: Now, the will demonstrates, that he died possessed of baubles, gewgaws, and toys to mock apes. Doctor Hall died, on the 25th of November 1635; leaving a nuncupative will, whereby he bequeathed his library, and manuscripts, to Thomas Nash, who had married his daughter, Elizabeth: Here, then, is sufficient proof, that Doctor Hall, the executor of Shakspeare, left a library, and manuscripts, behind him. Sufanna, the widow of Doctor Hall, and the daughter of Shakspeare, administered on his estate, and lived to the 11th of September 1649. Thomas Nash, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Doctor Hall, died on the 4th of April 1647, without issue, by the granddaughter of Shakspeare; but appointed her his executrix, and residuary legatee. After marrying Sir John Barnard, Elizabeth Nash died at Abington, about the 17th of February 1669-70, in full possession of *Newplace*, her grandfather's dwelling;

dwelling; and left her kinsman, Edward Bagley, sole executor of her will. Sir John, who seems not to have been very proud of the honours of his unfruitful marriage with Shakspeare's grand-daughter, died in March 167 $\frac{3}{4}$; and dying without a will, administration was granted on his estate the 7th of November 1674, to Henry Gilbert of Locko, in the county of Derby, who had married his daughter Elizabeth, by a former marriage. In this satisfactory manner, has Mr. Malone traced down, from the public records, the legal transmission of the personal property of Shakspeare's descendants, including his books and papers, to a recent period (g). And from this accurate history, he reasonably infers, that amongst the descendants of Bagley, or of Barnard, some fragments of Shakspeare may even yet be found, if curiosity would prompt diligence to search the repositories of concealment. Thus successful was Mr. Malone, in awakening attention, and raising hope. When the believers look back upon the past, and forward to the future, they may

(g) Vid. Mal. Shakf. 1790. vol. i. p. 123-139, in the Notes on the Life of Shakspeare.

observe, with Shakspeare, on the score of expected fragments ;

“ ———— *The rest, only*

“ That are within the note of *expectation,*

“ Already are i’ th’ court.”

From the appearance of Mr. Malone’s Shakspeare, in 1790,——

“ ———— Every moment was *expectancy* of more *arrivance.*”

In fact, discovery succeeded discovery, with the natural re-production of the seasons. Every admirer of Shakspeare was ambitious to possess some relick. Mr. Malone, with the good success, which generally attends best endeavours, obtained documents enough to fill a folio. Meantime, a painting of Shakspeare was found ; the very painting, as it seems, that enabled Droeshout to engrave “ the figure of Shakspeare,” which was prefixed to the folio editions of his dramas ; and of which Ben Jonson affirmed, that,

“ ———— the graver had a strife

“ With nature to outdo the life.”

The oaken board, whereon the gentle Shakspeare is pourtrayed ; the inscription of the poet’s name, by a contemporary hand ; the corresponding likeness between the original painting and the existing print of Droeshout ; the corroborating evidence of Ben Jonson, who

who had compared "the figure" with the man; all concur to evince the genuineness of this ancient painting. Were we to consider *the argument*, without indulging prepossession, or referring to connoisseurs, the authenticity would be readily acknowledged by all judges of evidence, except indeed by those, "who allow to *possibilities* the influence of facts" (*b*). Yet, Mr. Malone perseveres, *in grappling to his heart, with hooks of steel*, "the unauthenticated purchase of Mr. Keck, from the dressing-room of a modern actress:" For, it is a part of his philosophy *to allow to possibilities the influence of facts*.

While the admirers of Shakspeare were worshipping *the God of their idolatry*, in Castle-street, a new discovery of SHAKSPEARIANA was announced, in Norfolk-street. Curiosity was again roused; and once more gratified, in a greater, or a less, proportion; as zeal was satisfied, or frigidity warmed. Whether *Idolatry*, and *Credulity*, be cousins in the first, or second, degree, must be left to the decision of those critics, "who have read Alexander Ross over." It is sufficient for me to maintain, that the rational believers navigated their northern bark, on this Argonautic expedition,

(*b*) See Mr. Steevens's Satisfactory Dissertation, in the European Mag. October 1794, &c.

with scientific skill; shunning the Charybdis of credulity, on the one quarter, and the Scylla of suspicion, on the other.

To the inquisitive searchers after *truth*, the great object of their *voyage*, there were produced title-deeds; written assurances, and receipts; letters of royal, and noble, personages; signatures, and writings, of Shakspeare; and, with other documents, engravings of dramatic characters. In order to satisfy themselves of the authenticity of those Shakspeariana, they applied to them, in forming their judgments, the same rules of evidence, which direct the affairs of life; which govern in the distribution of justice; which comfort in the momentous concerns of religion. In these interesting objects, mankind act only on calculations of *probability*; disregarding *possibilities*. From the never-failing recurrence of the seasons, men naturally expect the usual succession of the spring to the winter, of summer to the spring, of autumn to the summer, and of winter to the autumn, attended with their happy effects, in the accustomed order: Hence, mankind reasonably expect, that the events, which usually happen, will probably happen again: And, as recent discoveries had shewn, that fragments of Shakspeare, having lately been found, were likely again to be met with,

in

in the course of research; the inquirers after truth logically inferred, that they had discovered, in those Shakspeariana, the objects of their search; believing, with Beattie, “that things are, as our senses represent them” (i).

On these principles of common sense, which induce us, in matters of evidence, to trust to our hearing, seeing, touching, tasting, and smelling, men, women, and children, act in “daily life;” regarding *probability*; and disregarding *possibility*. Never was any man prevented from buying a house; because it was objected, that it would, *possibly*, fall; knowing, from the view thereof, that it would, *probably*, stand, during the intended period of its duration. Never was any woman stopped from gadding, in quest of pleasure, by an objection of the *possibility* of meeting with misfortune; because she inferred, from the ready calculation of *probabilities*, that, having always returned safe from similar excursions, she should again return, without meeting with misfortune. Never was any child hindered from play, by warnings of danger; because he knew, from the *probabilities* of his boyish experience, that having often played, without harm, there was but little *probability* of harm.

(i) Essay on Truth, 63.

It is, then, from this *probability*, the result of experience, that mankind calculate, with intuitive promptitude, the *probabilities* of daily life; without troubling themselves with the *possibilities* of accidental occurrences: And, therefore, the searchers after truth calculated the probabilities of truth, or of falsehood, in favour of the Shakspeariana; knowing, that the possibility of fraud was a weak objection, which proceeded either from prepossession, or indifference, the great obstructers of free inquiry.

On those principles, our courts of justice administer right to contending parties. The judges, knowing, that controversies could never be determined, if *possibility of error* were admitted as an objection to the progress of justice, distribute law, and equity, from the *probabilities* of truth; and, when they have obliged the complainants to produce the best evidence, which the nature of the case will admit, and which is in the power of the party to give, proceed to a decision, on a probable presumption of right; being warned by experience, that demonstration seldom attends the administration of justice, whatever any one may see, with jaundiced eye, or apprehend, from perverted understanding. This was the
opinion

opinion of the Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, the great master of the law of evidence; though the public accuser has misrepresented his sentiments, by suppressing his context. With the leave of this court, I will transcribe into the note the whole (k) passage; in order to do

(k) The following passage is transcribed from the fourth Edition of *The Law of Evidence*, corrected, p. 1.—5.

“ The first thing,” says the Chief Baron Gilbert, “ to be treated of, is the evidence, that ought to be offered to the jury, and by what rules of PROBABILITY it ought to be weighed, and considered.—In the first place, it has been considered by a very learned man (Mr. Locke) that there are several degrees, from perfect certainty and demonstration, quite down to improbability, and unlikelihoods, even to the confines of impossibility; and there are several acts of the mind proportioned to these degrees of evidence, which may be called the degrees of assent, from full assurance, and confidence, quite down to conjecture, doubt, distrust, and disbelief.—Now, what is to be done, in all trials of right, is to range all matters in the scale of PROBABILITY; so as to lay most weight, where the cause ought to preponderate; and thereby, to make the most exact discernment, that can be, in relation to the right.—Now, to come to the true knowledge of the nature of PROBABILITY, it is necessary to look a little higher, and to see what certainty is, and whence it arises.

“ —All certainty is a clear and distinct perception, and all clear and distinct perceptions depend upon a man’s own proper senses: For, this, in the first place is certain, and that, which we cannot doubt of, if we would,
“ that

do justice to that learned judge; to confute his opponent; and to support the truth.

Thus

“ that one perception, or idea, is not another; that one man
 “ is not another: and, when perceptions are thus distin-
 “ guished on the first view, it is called self evidence, or
 “ intuitive knowledge.—There are some other things,
 “ whose agreement, or difference, is not known on the
 “ view; and then we compare them by the means of some
 “ third matter, by which we come to measure their agree-
 “ ment, disagreement, or relation.—As if the question be,
 “ whether certain land be the land of J. S. or J. N. and
 “ a record be produced, whereby the land appears to be
 “ transferred from J. S. to J. N: Now, when we shew
 “ any such third perception, and that doth necessarily
 “ infer the relation in question, this is called knowledge by
 “ demonstration. The way of knowledge by necessary in-
 “ ference is certainly the highest and clearest knowledge,
 “ that mankind is capable of in his way of reasoning; and
 “ therefore, always to be sought, when it may be had.—
 “ Demonstration is generally conversant about permanent
 “ things, which being constantly obvious to our senses, do
 “ afford to them a very clear, and distinct comparison:
 “ But, transient things, that cannot always occur to our
 “ senses, are generally more obscure; because they have no
 “ constant being, but must be retrieved by memory, and
 “ recollection.—Now, most of the business of civil life
 “ subsists on the actions of men, that are transient things;
 “ and therefore oftentimes are not capable of strict demon-
 “ stration, which, as I said, is founded on the view of our
 “ senses; and therefore, *the rights of men must be determined*
 “ *by PROBABILITY.*—Now, as all demonstration is founded
 “ on the view of a man’s own proper senses, by a gradation
 “ of clear and distinct perceptions; so all PROBABILITY
 “ is founded upon obscure and indistinct views, or upon
 “ report

Thus clear, and satisfactory is the Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, when his opinion is quoted, as it ought to be, with the context, which exhibits to the eye, and impresses on the understanding, a very different train of reasoning

“ report from the sight of others.—Now, this, in the first
 “ place is very plain, that when we cannot hear, or see, any
 “ thing ourselves, and yet are obliged to make a judgment
 “ of it, we must see and hear by report from others; which
 “ is one step further from demonstration, which is founded
 “ upon the view of our senses; and yet, there is that faith
 “ and credit to be given to the honesty and integrity of
 “ credible and disinterested witnesses, attesting any fact
 “ under the solemnities and obligations of religion, and the
 “ dangers and penalties of perjury, that the mind equally
 “ acquiesces therein, as on a knowledge by demonstration:
 “ For, it cannot have any more reason to be doubted than if
 “ we ourselves had heard and seen it: And this is the original
 “ of trials, and all manner of evidence.—The first,
 “ therefore, and most signal rule, in relation to evidence,
 “ is this, that a man must have the utmost evidence, the
 “ nature of the fact is capable of: For, the design of the
 “ law is to come to rigid demonstration in matters of right,
 “ and there can be no demonstration of a fact, without the
 “ best evidence, that the nature of the thing is capable of:
 “ Less evidence doth but create opinion and surmise, and
 “ does not leave a man the entire satisfaction, that arises
 “ from demonstration: For, if it be plainly seen in the na-
 “ ture of a transaction, that there is some more evidence,
 “ that doth not appear, the very not producing it is a pre-
 “ sumption that it would have detected something more
 “ than appears already; and therefore the mind does not
 “ acquiesce in any thing lower than the utmost evidence,
 “ that the fact is capable of.”

ing from the wild position of Mr. Malone, which evaporates, when truth appears with "the sacred radiance of the sun."

Misapprehending thus, the chief Baron's real sentiments, the public accuser would inculcate, that, when any new-found writings of a dead poet are offered to our view, nothing short of *rigid demonstration* ought to satisfy us of their real authenticity. But, he discovers little philosophy, and less candour, when he catches at an exaggerated expression of the learned judge, which cannot be defended in its whole extent. Every one, who has attended to the workings of his own mind, or listened to the voice of daily experience, must clearly perceive, that rigid demonstration can only be found in the higher sciences. The learned judge meant nothing more by his strong expression, as the context shows, than the highest evidence, which the nature of different cases can fairly afford. The evidence of the senses, subject as they are to error, from natural imperfections, do not furnish demonstrations of a fact (1): The

(1) We all remember the occurrence of a late serjeant at law, who, though he certainly knew the rules of evidence, was yet sadly mistaken in supposing, that the senses furnish *demonstration*, with regard to the identity of a robber.

evidence of the senses only supplies the understanding with proofs of high probability ; with such certainty, as produces conviction (*m*). And, the courts of law seldom attain to a more perfect degree of proof, by which right is estimated, and justice administered. Such was the opinion of the Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, when he stated “ What is to be done, in trials “ of right, which is to range matters in the scale “ of *probability*; so as to lay most weight, where “ the cause ought to preponderate (*n*).” And, in this manner, we see this great judge, and the public accuser, stand opposed to each other, in their opinions of evidence ; while the believers acted, according to the judgment of the chief baron, in weighing the Shakspeariana in the scale of probability.

It is, however, true, as Gilbert taught, as Blackstone repeated, and as the public accuser re-echoes, that, in all law proceedings, the best evidence, which the nature of the case admits ; and which is in the power of the party to give ; ought to be produced, when it is required. Now, in our case, such evidence was offered to the examination of

(*m*) See Beattie's Essay on Truth, 63-69.

(*n*) Law of Evidence, p. 2.

the senses: *Originals* were produced, not *copies*; ancient documents, purporting to be genuine papers; parchment deeds, with their accustomed seals, which, when they have defied time for *forty years*, are allowed to prove themselves, in courts of law; to be such proofs, as require no additional proofs to authenticate them (o). Legal, or admissible evidence, that is, such proofs, as would be admitted in forensic proceedings, were exhibited to the senses, with a fair appeal to the conviction of the beholders. Had there been an issue joined, in Westminster Hall, on the signatures of Shakspeare, and Heminges, comparison of hands would have been admitted as adequate proof, in a *civil case*, of the authenticity of their writing: For, *id est certum, quod certum reddi potest*; and from one certainty, another may be (p) deduced; the

fac

(o) Law of Evidence, p. 94.

(p) I was present, when the genuine deed of John Heminges, which is printed by Mr. Malone in *The Inquiry*, p. 409, was produced in evidence; when there was produced, at the same time, a black-letter pamphlet, having the name "John Heminges" written at the top of the title page, so like, as to be a perfect *fac simile*; and, at the bottom of the same page, was written the name "W^m. Shakspeare": On the back of the title-page was written: "This was the book of John Heminges, which he

" gave

fac similes induce a presumption, that the undoubted signature, and the supposed signature, were written by the same hand; and every presumption is evidence till the contrary is made apparent: Now, every presumption, that remains uncontested, hath the force of evidence, saith Lord Chief Baron (q) Gilbert; as light proof, on one side, will outweigh defective proof, on the other side. Of the same opinion was Wilkins, when he reasoned in the following manner: “ Things of seve-

“ gave unto me—W^m. Shakspeare.” Now, had there been an *issue*, on an action at law, whether these were the signatures of Heminges, and of Shakspeare, the genuine deed of Heminges would have been given in evidence, as the *certainty*, from which the *uncertainty* would have been inferred: Here is legal, or admissible proof; and the jury, who had been sworn to try that issue, *according to the evidence given them*, must have delivered their verdict for the genuineness of the signatures of Heminges, and Shakspeare, on the black-letter pamphlet before mentioned. This example proves how difficult it is to detect some forgeries by fair discussion. First; I believe, that the deed of Heminges is genuine: Secondly; I believe, that the signature of Heminges, on the black-letter pamphlet, was copied by the pen of a forger from the real signature, on the deed; and that the signature of Shakspeare was copied by the same pen, from fancy, in some measure: Yet; am I of opinion, that these forgeries cannot be detected by fair discussion.

(q) Law of Evidence, p. 53-4.

“ral kinds may admit, and require, several
 “ sorts of proofs, all which may be good in
 “ their kinds: And, therefore, nothing can
 “ be more irrational, than for a man to
 “ doubt of, or deny, the truth of any thing;
 “ because it cannot be made out by such
 “ kind of proofs, of which the nature of such
 “ a thing is not capable.”

These reasonings apply still more forcibly to religion, than to law. The leading articles of our faith do not admit of rigid demonstration. Rational probability is, in these, the strongest proof, which can be given to induce belief; to animate our hopes; or to excite our fears; without deluding our understandings with the suggestions of *possibility*, or entangling our conviction with the sophisms of infidelity. “A bare possibility,” saith Tillotson, “that a thing may be, or not be, is no just cause of doubt, whether
 “ a thing be, or not.”

Yet, Mr. Malone reasons very differently. He avows himself to be a sturdy Cartesian, in his philosophical inquiries. Like a true disciple, he begins with doubting: He doubts every thing, of which it is possible to doubt, and persuades himself, that every thing is false, which can possibly be conceived to be
 doubtful.

doubtful (*r*). In pursuance of such principles, he will not (*f*) allow, “that those ancient manuscripts can be entitled even to an examination,” till he has been told the tale of their discovery. According to his philosophy, he will not examine any of the qualities of matter, till he has learned, from authority, how it was produced. He will not trouble himself about “the great globe itself, yea, and all which it inherit,” unless he be informed, when, where, and by whom, they were created. It is not, then, surprising, that he will not look upon a manuscript till he has been told, by what hand it was written, and on what occasion; by what good fortune it was preserved, and by what lucky accident it was found. If Bodley, and Cotton, Harley, and Sloane, had been directed by his maxims, how many manuscripts would have been kept from our sight; and how much knowledge would have been lost to the world. The truth is, which is ever the best excuse, as a Cartesian, he doubts of every thing, except, that *he thinks*; that he argues more rationally—than Tillotson, and Wilkins.

The public accuser carries his Cartesian

(*r*) See Beattie on Truth, 218. (*f*) Inquiry, 15.

principles into the usual practice of the courts of law. Were he placed in the chair of the Chief Baron, he would not admit, as evidence in itself, an ancient deed, though it had out-lived its century, without witnesses to prove its creation, and an historian to relate the progress of its transmission. He would not allow, in civil suits, comparison of hands, as admissible evidence. And, in criminal cases, he would, *in limine*, presume fraud, as a general principle, and infer guilt, from the first appearance of the party. The transition is, indeed, natural, from being the disciple of Des Cartes, to become a believer with Berkeley: For, the change of scepticism is easy: From doubting all things, it was to be expected, that Mr. Malone would deny the existence of matter: Hence it is, by a consecutive transition, that he disregards the parchment, the tags, and the seals, of deeds, as non-existent matter, though it is from these adjuncts, that other judges distinguish, as with a touch-stone, the several documents of business, and class into their useful varieties the *common assurances of daily life*. The final consequences of scepticism, as Beattie has shown, are, to puzzle the understanding, and to harden the heart. It is from this source of error, that the public accuser

confounds

confounds the *external*, with the *internal*, evidence; considering the parchment, and the seals, as internal evidence, in as high a degree as the style, and the (*t*) sentiment; and confounding, with an unpropitious temper, the *matter*, and the *spirit*: Neither the labels, nor the seals, the faded ink, nor the discoloured paper, are *external evidence*, according to his juridical code (*u*). Being thus entangled, by his scepticism, in a maze of error, he infers himself, and would persuade the reader to infer, that the *binding* is of the essence of a book: And,

“Puzzled in mazes, and perplex’d with error,”

the public accuser confounds the labours of the paper-maker, and printer, of the book-binder, and embellisher, with the poetic fiction, the appropriate sentiment, and the energetic style of Shakspeare, in the most elaborate of his dramas. But, fair inquirers, beholding scepticism, as the *cause*, and *perplexity*, as the *consequence*, may well cry out with Young;

“Truth strikes each point with native force of mind,

“While puzzl’d learning blunders far behind.”

The other concomitant of scepticism is hardness of heart. The necessary consequence

(*t*) Inquiry, 17.

(*u*) Id.

of this evil quality is, to repress curiosity, which is natural to mankind; and which is the spring of some profit to a few, and the source of much pleasure to all. We can now trace the cause to its true origin, why Mr. Malone, who had taken so many weary steps, in search of Shakspeariana, and had raised, by his labours, the expectation of others, made not one effort to see the *Miscellaneous Papers*, in Norfolk-street. He remained in Queen Ann - street - East, fettered with *doctrine*, “Which, unto fools, saith the preacher, is as “fettters on the feet.” He was thus content to (x) learn, with surprise, indeed, “from the “information of various intelligent persons “who had viewed and examined the supposed “originals, that every date affixed to these pa- “pers, and almost every fact mentioned in “them, were alike inconsistent with the his- “tory of the time and with all the ancient “documents of which I was possessed (y).” In this representation, an accurate eye may perceive, what Dryden calls “a sophisticated “truth with an allay of lye in it. With this *sophisticated truth*, however, was the public

(x) Inquiry, 4.

(y) I have pointed this passage, as it is pointed by the great critic himself; and, indeed, as all quotations ought to be.

accuser

accuser content, though he is not content to keep it to himself. He comes, wildly, into this enlightened court, to maintain, that second-hand evidence is as good as the best; and that the stories of *sophisticated truth* are as much to be believed as the informations of the senses. His *scepticism* disdains the old adage, that *seeing is believing*: And, his *contempt* scoffs at those scholars, antiquaries, and heralds, who formed their belief, as every investigation ought to be, rather from the evidence of the senses, than the gloss of sophistry. From this view of his theory, and his practice, this critical court may fitly apply to the public accuser, who avows such doctrines, and maintains such positions, what Shakspeare said upon another occasion:

“Cry the man mercy, love him, take his offer;

“Foul is the most foul; *being found to be a scoffer.*”

If there be perspicuity in method, I would illustrate the darker parts of this interesting disquisition, by dividing the story of the Shakspeariana into three periods: The 1st. From the discovery, in February, to the publication of the papers, on the 24th of December 1795; the 2d, from that epoch to the production of Mr. Malone's *Inquiry*, two days before the condemnation of Vortigern; and the 3d, from that period to the present.

1st. During

1st. During the first period, it will be found, that the advantage of argument lay wholly on the side of the believers. They carried with them the probability, which Mr. Malone's previous investigations had established, for proving the existence of such documents. There were offered to their inspection, as confirmations of that probability, ancient deeds, which would be admitted in our courts of justice, as proofs, that vindicate their own authenticity. Written documents were shown, which, by comparison of hands, might be converted into legal evidence. The variety, and number, of the papers, gave additional authority to the general presumption, by lessening the possibility of fraud. And, collateral circumstances, or extrinsic evidence, were found, to add strong confirmations to the previous probability of the existence of such fragments. Now, the Chief Baron Gilbert will teach the public accuser, that some proof is more satisfactory than none; that a weak presumption must be allowed a just portion of evidence, till it is overpowered by a stronger presumption, which induces a new belief; that objections of *possibility* ought not to be admitted, in argument, against the convictions of *probability*; and that suspicions of *fraud*

fraud cannot be allowed, to weigh down presumptions of *fairness*. On the other hand, what had Mr. Malone, during the first period, to oppose to these reasonings, and to those facts? He had an indifference, which stifled his curiosity. He was indifferent about the Shakspeariana in Norfolk-street; because he had been told, by travellers, tales “of antres vast, “and desarts idle:” He made little effort to see them; fearing lest his inspection should authenticate them; lest his examination should clear the dark, and confirm the doubtful: So, he resolved “to be a candle-holder, and look “on;” threatening, however, to accuse, and preparing, diligently, to cross-examine, when publication should furnish matter, and give him a pretence. He was urged, meanwhile, by his scepticism to contradict the probability, which he had taught the inquisitive world to entertain, in favour of the discovery of the fragments of Shakspeare, either from Bagley, or from Barnard. In this temper, was he carried forward by *his theory* to contend, during the first period, against Hooker, that *no truth can contradict any truth*.

2. Thus decisive was the *general argument*, in favour of *the Believers*, during the whole of
the

the first period. We are now about to enter on the second of the proposed periods, at the epoch of the expected publication. The day came at last, which relieved the public accuser from his embarrassments, when the MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS were sent into the *cold world*, from Norfolk-street. Contradictory tales were now neither heard, nor told, by “strenuous partizans,” on either side. The cavils of *possibility*, which Tillotson had exploded, as inadmissible, in argument, vanished into air; into *thin air*. And, the various objections, which, during the first period, had excited contempt by their folly, or laughter by their levity, were dismissed, during the second period, to serve a similar turn, on some less lucky day:

“Soon to that mass of nonsense to return;

“Where things destroy’d are swept to things unborn.”

The publication of the *Miscellaneous Papers* was extremely favourable both to the believers, and to the unbelievers. The believers were now furnished with the means, which they wanted before, of carrying their general reasonings into minute inspection: And, many were convinced, by that inspection, and believed no more. On the other hand, the impugners of *those papers*, who would not inspect the originals, had now

an opportunity to examine the copies, which only supplied a second-rate evidence. Objections of a new form, and of a very different import, were at length framed, by very different minds, and urged, with very different aims. The minor critics successively appeared with their *Letters*, their *Free Reflections*, and their *Familiar Verses*. But, the world waited with anxious suspense, for the appearance of the public accuser himself, who, for many a month, with threatening tone, had avowed his purpose, to detect what he would not condescend to inspect:—

“ — All eyes direct their rays

“ On him, and crowds turn coxcombs, as they gaze.”

He now (z) undertook, without examining the originals, “ to prove, from 1. the orthography, 2. the phraseology, 3. the dates given or deducible by inference, and 4. the dissimilitude of the hand-writing, that not a single paper or deed in this extraordinary volume was written or executed by the person to whom it is ascribed (a).” Yet, none of these propositions could, in any degree,

(z) Inquiry, p. 22-3.

(a) I quote this passage, pointed as it is, designedly, by this master of criticism, in order to show his accurate knowledge of that useful branch of critical science.

have

have been established by him, who was content with secondary evidence, after calling for rigid demonstration, if those *papers* had not been published; since, without inspection, there could be no examination. The publication, then, was of great consequence to him, and also of essential use to the world. And, the subscribers, who contributed their money, for the necessary expence, thereby performed an important service to SHAKSPEARE, and to TRUTH. Yet, the public accuser is too busy with his project of detection to thank the admirers of Shakspeare, and lovers of truth, for their liberality: And, as *gentle dulness ever loves a joke*, he is, ever and anon, breaking his jests upon their *folly*, and *credulity*, in acting without his consent, and believing without his instruction; though without accomplishing his jocund purpose of *setting the table in a roar*. Such dulness, and such jokes, may, perhaps, provoke the subscribers to exclaim, with Marston (*b*):

“ Tut, tut, a toy of an empty brain,

“ Some scurrill jests, light gewgaws, fruitlesse, vaine.”

Knowing, however, while thus occupied with his *light gewgaws*, that the positive praise of one, may reflect indirect censure on many;

(*b*) In the Scourge of Villanie, 1599.

Mr.

Mr. Malone brings his twenty years friend, Lord Charlemont, on the stage, to declare, in *terse English*, “ that if Lord C. had known “ as much of it as he now does, he would not “ have given either his name or his money to “ the publication (c).” Nay! Give his name to the publication! Did ever any nobleman before, when subscribing his charitable guinea to a scribbler, think himself answerable for the wit, the truth, or the propriety, of the book?

“ Opinion mounts this froth unto the skies;

“ Which judgements’ reason justly vilifies:

“ For, (shame to the poet) read NED, behold!

“ How *wittily* a Maister’s-hood can scold (d).”

3. Thus much, with regard to the second period. We are now to enter on the third of the proposed periods, from the epoch of *the publication* to the present day. While the public accuser was thus casting *froth* against the wind, he was content to sacrifice the graces of candour, to relinquish the praise of liberality, and to enfeeble the strength of concession. He might have conceded, with candour and liberality, to the subscribers, the most of whom, during this third period, believed as little as himself, that they had done an useful

(c) Inquiry, p. 1.

(d) Marston’s Satire: *Stultorum plena sunt omnia.*

service to Shakspeare, and to his *Inquiry*, by contributing to the charges of the publication, which enabled the world to see, and him to write; and which changed the faith of more believers, than all the objectors, in prose, or rhyme. He might have conceded to the believers, that the probability was in favour of the Shakspeariana, on the first *snatch of sight*. And, without departing from one of his objections, he might have acknowledged, that the general argument, concluded in favour of the believers, for the authenticity of the imputed papers. After all these concessions, he might have argued, had he been a logician, that probability must give way to absolute proof; and that general reasonings must vanish before the effulgence of special facts. He might, with a good grace, have told the believers; "I will admit the propriety, and the truth, of your positions; yet, will I demonstrate, that your belief is unfounded:" and he might have now thrown in, with effect, his dates, and anachronisms, his orthographical detections, and theatrical story, his comparisons of signatures, and inferences from analogy. But, by delaying the publication of his book till inquiry was useless; by conceding none of these points to the believers; by disregarding the
strong

strong presumption of legal evidence; he gave occasion to judicious men, who had studied the question, to observe, that the believers, were led into their error, by *system*, while the inquirer himself is only right, by *chance*.

Whilst the believers, during every period of the investigation, were forming their judgments, from the satisfactory evidence, which convince mankind, in the interesting concerns of legal proceedings, *daily life*, and their religious faith; whilst they were adopting general opinions, from loose inspection; whilst they were believing, from seeing; they could only mean to form such judgments, to adopt such opinions, and to entertain such belief, until cross-examination should show, in the *Miscellaneous Papers*, inconsistency, and anachronism; until facts should prove the probability of fiction, and the possibility of falsehood; until minute inspection should dispel the deceptions of cursory views; and until the refulgence of truth should beam through the clouds of error, which, however they may envelope the learned world, for a while, are soon dispelled by the *gentle gusts* of accurate criticism. Certainty, when it appears, will ever be recognized by candour: And, certainty will generally be the result of investigation, when inquiry is prosecuted.

ed, on solid principles, with diligent research.

Such is the preliminary APOLOGY, which the believers submit to this critical court, before they attend the *public accuser*, in the more minute examination of the MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS, which have been attributed to Shakspeare.

— § II. —

QUEEN ELIZABETH; AND HER LETTER.

IN making the first step of the minute inquiry, to confirm, or confute, the general argument, on the interesting subjects of Queen Elizabeth, and her Letter, we are at once struck with an observation, which has already operated as an *apology* for the believers, that the objections made, during the first period of investigation, have been relinquished, as indefensible, during the last. To Queen Elizabeth's Letter, it was constantly objected, that being a princess of a lofty character, *she disdained to correspond with much greater men than Shakspeare*. The believers, knowing the falsity of this assumption, laughed at the fallacy of that objection. Mr. Malone now passes over the fiction, as discreditable, and relinquishes the argument, as indefensible: And, like a great general, he covers his retreat from

from an untenable post, by giving a high panegyric on the public character of Elizabeth, which no one will dispute, instead of exhibiting her private character, which, as it is sufficiently known, no one will defend; being forced, by the fact, to give as a trait of manners, “a proof of that condescending familiarity by which she won the hearts of her people (a).”

The scholars, and antiquaries, and heralds, who are the objects of Mr. Malone’s scorn, knew that, in respect to Elizabeth’s more retired life, and personal habits, Lord Orford had portrayed (b) her; Mr. Hume had described (c) her; and Mr. Whitaker had anatomised her (d). The believers also knew, that Elizabeth corresponded, personally, with her servants at home, and abroad; sending, and receiving, letters, in a manner quite contrary to

(a) Inquiry, 108.

(b) In the Cat. of Royal, and Noble, Authors; article, *Effex.*

(c) History, vol. v. Note KK. p. 420—526.

(d) Vindication of M. Q. of Scots, 2d vol:—“Elizabeth published the letters ascribed to Mary, principally to ruin Mary’s character, in point of chastity, 450; yet, Elizabeth was unchaste, while Mary was not, 450. Elizabeth pretended to live, and die, a virgin; yet, had Lord Leicester for her paramour, 451-2-4 and 456.—There is a letter of Mary’s concerning Elizabeth’s amours, 456—470—489.—The violent part of Eliza-

to the practice of the present times (*e*): They knew, moreover, that she wrote very familiar letters to private persons; either to promote, or discourage, (*f*) matrimony; to condole with favourites on the loss of parents, and (*g*) children; to inquire after the health of (*b*) servants; to return thanks for presents to (*i*) paramours; or to interfere in the domestic affairs of individuals (*j*). There are anecdotes enough, to shew how familiar Elizabeth could be, in gratification of her

“ beth’s character in private live is illustrated, 480-81-
 “ 482-3—489-90. Her immodesty, 500—516—519-
 “ 21. She was a great swearer, 408—519. Her va-
 “ nity, 491—98. Niggardly to all, but to paramours,
 “ and flatterers, 507-8—519. She had an ulcer in one leg,
 “ 484. She was not formed, as other women are, 501-2.
 “ Her general character summed up, 416-17. Vindicated,
 501-2.—See the Index, article, *Elizabeth*.”

(*e*) Forbes’s State Papers, every-where.

(*f*) Lodge’s Illustrations, vol. iii. 11—16—65—69.—
 123-4-6-8.

(*g*) *Ib.* 24; Cabala, 212—Q. Elizabeth’s letter to Lady Norris on the death of her son; which begins: “ My own
 “ crow—Harm not yourself for bootless help,” &c.—Fuller’s Worthies, Oxf. 336.—and see Queen Elizabeth’s Letters in Mal. Inquiry, 112-13-14.

(*b*) Cat. of R. & N. Authors. vol. i. 132.

(*i*) Lodg. Illust. vol. ii. 154: Thanks for presents to Leicester.

(*j*) Lodge—vol. ii. 10—164—219—245—vol. iii. 56; wherein we may see, that she took part with Lady Shrewsbury against her husband.

ruling

ruling passion: Whenever the Earl of Essex put on a fit of sickness, “not a day passed,” says Lord (*k*) Orford, “without the Queen’s sending frequent messages to inquire about his health; and once went so far, as to sit long by him, and *order his broths and things.*” When on the verge of three-score-and-ten she acted the hoyden of fifteen. In September 1602, “the young Lady of Darby, wearing about her neck, in her bosom, a picture, which was in a dainty tablet, the Queen espying it, asked what fine jewel that was. The Lady Darby was curious to excuse the shewing of itt, but the Queen would have itt, and opening itt, and fynding itt to be Mr. Secretarye’s, snatcht itt away, and tyed itt upon her shoe, and walked long w’ itt there; and then she took itt thence, and pinned itt on her elbow, and wore it som tyme there also; which Mr. Secretary being told of, made these verses, and had Hales to sing them in his chamber. Itt was told her Majesty, that

(*k*) Cat. of Royal, and Noble, Authors, vol. i. 132. When she heard, that Essex was ill, she sent him word, with tears in her eyes, “that if she might with her honour, she would visit him.” Ib. 136. When the Vice Chamberlain Hatton was sick, in 1573, Elizabeth went almost every day to see how he did.—Lodge’s Illust. vol. ii. 101.

“ Mr. Secretary had rare musick, and songs :
 “ She would needs hear them ; and so this
 “ dittay was sounge which you see first
 “ written. More verses there be lykewyse,
 “ whereof som, or all, were lykewyse-sounge.
 “ I do boldly send these verses to your lord-
 “ ship, which I would not do to any els,
 “ for I hear they are very secrett. Some of
 “ the verses argew that he repines not thoghe
 “ her Majesty please to grace others, and con-
 “ tents himself with the favour he hath (1).”

(1) See Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. 136, William Brown's News-letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury. The young Lady of Darby, who was treated in that manner, was Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, and the wife of William Earl of Darby: It was Mr. Secretary Cecil's picture, which gave rise to that flirtation in Queen Bess, and produced the songs, and musick; to her great divertisement. Happy! if those songs of Mr. Secretary could be retrieved, though it would require *proofs of holy writ* to convince Mr. Malone of their authenticity. The art of that profound statesman is wonderful. Being caught, hanging in the bosom of the young Countess, by Elizabeth, and being informed of her freak, he turned the incidents into a song: And, while he amused the Queen, he took care to disclaim any greater pretensions to power, than what he derived from her goodness. We see, in the midst of *this joke*, the opinion of that most accomplished statesman, who was then prime minister, with regard to Elizabeth's *jealousy*, personal, and political. If Mr. Secretary Cecil were born, in 1550, he was not a youth, in 1602.

With

With such anecdotes the believers were perfectly acquainted, although the public accuser seems to have known nothing of them: And from such documents, they reasonably inferred, that Elizabeth might probably condescend to write such a letter to Shakspeare; whose *pretty verses* were, no doubt, written with his best pen, in his gayest fancy, on the encomiastic topicks of love, and marriage, with “twenty odd
“conceited true-love knots.”

But, Mr. Malone is induced by his scepticism to insist, that the *pretty verses* of Shakspeare never existed; because he has never seen them; and he is incited by a peculiar logic to argue, that whatsoever does not appear to him has never existed on earth. Yet, Mr. Secretary Cecil’s songs on Queen Bess’s frolick, though they were once sung, are now sung no more. And the sonnets of Shakspeare, which inflamed the desire, and roused the gratitude of Elizabeth, may possibly exist in the same casket with Cecil’s *dittays*, though none of our Cottons, or Harleys, have preserved them, and none of our Waldrons, or Malones, have found them. Nor, is it unaccountable, that the collectors of papers, and the critics of plays, should have missed the *pretty verses*, which have since been found: while scepticism was ever-and-anon crying out

impossible, curiosity lost her common incentives. The scenic scholiasts may characteristically cry out with Marcus :

“ — O! brother, speak with *possibilities*,

“ And do not break into these deep extremes.”

If we might thus speak with *possibilities*, it may be asserted, as very probable, that the sonnets of Shakspeare, which touched the ruffe, that touched Queen Bess's chin, may even now exist. During her reign, they were handed about in manuscript (*m*). The Curls of that period were deterred from printing them. Yet, printed they were, in the subsequent reign. *Impossible*, cries Mr. Malone! On another occasion, however, he shows the possibility, though he expresses his surprise, that the editors have not always discriminated the spurious from the genuine. “ Though near a cen-
 “ tury and a half has elapsed,” says he, “ since
 “ the death of (*n*) Shakspeare, it is somewhat
 “ extraordinary, that none of his various edi-
 “ tors should have attempted to separate his
 “ genuine poetical compositions from the spu-
 “ rious performances with which they have
 “ been so long intermixed, or taken the trou-
 “ ble to compare them with the earliest edi-

(*m*) Mere's *Wit's Treasury*, 1598, p. 623.

(*n*) Advertisement, p. iv. to his *Supplement*, 1780.

“ tions.” But, research was long fettered by indifference. At length, Theobald undertook this great (o) task; but he lived not to perform it. Happily it fell into the abler hands, and under the deeper discernment, of Mr. Malone. He will doubtless separate the genuine, from the spurious compositions of Shakspeare. He has attempted (p) this, with great activity of powers, and greater discrimination of taste. He will certainly discover the *prettye verses* of Shakspeare: Yet, strange to tell! he has seen them; he has criticised them; but, whatever may be the keenness of his eye, or the acuteness of his criticism, he has not discerned them, though he had the daily help of able coadjutors.

But, I will not any longer abuse the patience of this court. I will no longer conceal the secret. The *sugr'd sonnets*, of which Meres spoke, in (q) 1598, and which were first printed by Thorpe, in 1609, are the *prettye verses* of *honeytongu'd* Shakspeare. *Impossible!* cries Mr. Malone, with the monotonous tongue of his own *pretty Poll* (r). I will
 now

(o) Preface to his edition, 1740.

(p) In his Supplement, 1780.

(q) Wit's Treasury, 623.

(r) SCRIBLERUS hath well remarked, that those expressions of *pretty Poll* were not applied yesterday to the mimick bird,

now maintain, to the satisfaction of this court, I trust, that the *sugr'd sonnets*, which were handed about, before, and in, the year 1598, among Shakspeare's private friends, were the very verses, which he addressed to Elizabeth *in his fine filed (s) phrase*; that the SONNETS of Shakspeare were addressed, by him, to Elizabeth, although I do not mean to

bird, as Mr. Malone would object; but, are as old as the age of Shakspeare; as John Taylor the water-poet will inform us, epigram 31; "A Rope for Parratt:"

"Why doth the parrat cry, *a rope, a rope?*"

"Because hee's cag'd in prison out of hope.

"Why doth the parrat call *a boate, a boate?*"

"It is the humour of his idle note.

"O *pretty* PALL, take heed, beware the cat;

"Let Waterman alone, no more of that:

"Since I so idly heard the parrat talk,

"In his own language, I say, *walke, knave, walke.*"

See much learning on this curious subject in Grey's *Hudibras*, vol. i. p. 61; and Warburton's *Shakspeare*, vol. iii. p. 253. It is remarkable, that neither of those commentators seems to have known of the water-poet's epigram on *pretty Poll*.

(s) "To this person, whoever he was, [were] one hundred and twenty of the following poems are addressed; the remaining twenty-eight are addressed to a lady," says Mr. Malone: "Many of them are written to show the propriety of marriage," adds he; "and therefore cannot well be supposed to be addressed to a school-boy." [Supplement 1780, vol. i. p. 579]. My position is, that the sonnets were all addressed to *one person*.

contend for the *spurious performances* of book-fellers, the *intermixtures* of critics, nor *the interpolations* of Mr. Malone (*t*). In order to see this curious point, in its true light, it will be necessary to advert, with discriminative eye, to the character of Elizabeth, and to the situation of Shakspeare.

Elizabeth was born in 1533; and was, of course, one-and-thirty years older than Shakspeare. Being bred in the school of adversity, she acquired early habits of personal address; being called on to play a part, during critical times, she learned the cunning, which the necessity of circumspection, in *political* revolutions, always teaches; and being, in her early age, without hopes of future greatness, she indulged in the natural propen-

(*t*) Mr. Malone undertook to print all the poems of Shakspeare, except his *Venus and Adonis*, "faithfully from the original copies:" Yet, has he thrust in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, which was first published, in 1599, between *The Sonnets*, and *The Lover's Complaint*; which were both printed together, in 1609. I was enabled to see this *aberration* from editorship, by inspecting the *first* edition of *The Sonnets*: Yet, Mr. Malone wandered into the path of error, while the right road of duty was before him. See his Supplement, 1780, vol. i. p. 581; and p. 709, for the publication of the *Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599; and p. 739, for the printing of the *Lover's Complaint*, at the end of the quarto edition of his Sonnets, in 1609.

fities of meaner mortals (*u*). She was from constitution amorous; but, without the power of enjoyment (*v*): She was led thus to cultivate all the arts, and to acquire all the accomplishments, which make women irresistible, when they preserve the modesty of their nature, and study the mild graces of their sex. With the understanding of a man, and the knowledge of a scholar, she indulged the vanity of the weakest woman, and carried her passion for praise, even in the extremity of age, beyond the limits, which are scarcely allowed in girls: And, by exposing this weakness to the world, she became the dupe of her own servants, of her subjects, and also of foreigners, who all knew how to gain their several objects, by gratifying her prevailing passion. How did she rack Melville, the

(*u*) Catalogue of Royal, and Noble, Authors, art. *Elizabeth*.

(*v*) For her youthful amour with the admiral Seymour, see Lodge's Illustrat. vol. i. 112. She was so pleased with her entertainment, in September 1560, at Basing, by the ancient marquis of Winchester, the treasurer, that she said gaily: "By my trouthe, if my lord treasurer were a young man, I could fynde in my harte to have him to my hus-bande, before any man in England." Ib. 346; and Whitaker's Vindication of Mary. vol. ii. 450—456—469—500—16—21.

ambassador

ambassador of Mary Queen of (w) Scots, to make him confess, that she was handsomer, a better dancer, and a better musician, than his mistress, who was the handsomest, and most accomplished princess, in Europe. Most of her courtiers, therefore, feigned affection, and desire towards her; addressing her in the usual style of gallantry. By such artifices, Leicester, and Essex, Raleigh, and Hatton rose to favour, and acquired estates. Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil, for the sight of Elizabeth, which has the following expressions of ridiculous flattery:—

“ I that was wont to see her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade, like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all (x).” It is to be remarked, says Hume, that this nymph, Venus, goddess, angel, was then about sixty: yet, some years after, she allowed the same language to be used to her (y). In 1599, when Elizabeth was

(w) Catalogue of Royal, and Noble, Authors, art. *Elizabeth*.

(x) Murden, 657.

(y) History, vol. v. 527.

sixty-six, John Davis, who rose to eminence, by his talents, and his flattery, dedicated his fine poem, *Nosce teipsum*, to her :

To that cleare majestie, which in the north,
Doth like another sunne in glorie rise,
Which standeth fixed, yet spreads her heavenly worth,
Loadstone to hearts, and loadstarre to all eyes.

Fair soule, since to *the fairest bodie knit*,
You give such lively life, such quickening power,
Such sweet celestial influence to it,
As keeps it still in youths immortal flower.

O many, many yeares may you remaine,
A happie *angel* to this happie land :
Long, long, may you on earth our empressse reigne,
Ere you in heaven a glorious angell stand ;
Stay long (sweet spirit) ere thou to heaven depart,
Which mak'st each place a heaven wherein thou art.

From the dedication of Davis, the transition is easy to the sonnets of Shakspeare, who had preceded Davis, in his flatteries, and celebrity.

Poets are born, not made: when I would prove
This truth, the glad remembrance I must love
Of never-dying Shakspeare, who alone
Is argument enough to make that one.

Shakspeare was also born a man, in 1564.
Him,

“ Fair fancy found, and bore the smiling babe
“ To a close cavern :
“ Here, as with honey gather'd from the rock,
“ She fed the little prattler.”

Thus found, and thus fed, he broke loose, ere long, from his confinement, prompted to escape, no doubt, by Cupid, and conducted, in

his flight, by Hymen: And thus stimulated, and directed, he became enamoured of Anne Hathaway, who was eight years older than himself, and married her, in 1582, when he was only eighteen years of age, and she made him a father of his first child, Susanna, at the age of nineteen (z). While other boys are only snivelling at school, and thinking nothing of life, Shakspeare entered the world, with little but his love to make him happy, and little but his genius to prevent the intrusion of misery. An increasing family, and pressing wants, obliged him to look, beyond the limits of Stratford, for subsistence, and for fame (a). He felt, doubtless, emotions of genius, and he saw, certainly, persons, who had not better pretensions, than his own, rising to eminence in a higher scene. By these motives was he

(z) Mal. Shakspeare, 1790. vol. i. 105: His daughter Susanna was baptized May 26, 1583. On the 2d of February, 1584-5, were baptized Samuel, and Judith, the twin issue of this marriage, when Shakspeare was not yet of age. Ib. 172.

(a) The father of Shakspeare fell into distressed circumstances, soon after his marriage. John Shakspeare, who had served the honourable office of high bailiff of Stratford, in 1569, was excused in 1579, from paying a week's contribution of four-pence to the town; and was removed from being an alderman, in 1586, as he had not for some years attended the common halls. [Mal. Shaksf. vol. i. p. 103].

probably

probably induced to remove to London, in the period, between the years 1585, and 1588; chafed from his home, by the terriers of the law, for debt, rather than for deer-stealing, or for libelling. He may have received, perhaps, an introduction to the theatre from Robert Green, his kinsman, an actor, of whom "none were of greater grace at the court, or of more general love in the city;" and Shakspeare, certainly, enjoyed the patronage of Lord Southampton, to whom was dedicated "the first heir of his invention."

Shakspeare, however, soon became sensible of the *impression*, "which vulgar scandal stamp'd upon his brow." His gentle nature was ere long subdued. He perceived, with regret that, from his *occupation*, *his name had received a brand*. He deplored, with pungency, that *fortune*,

"The guilty goddess of his harmful deeds,

"—— did not better for his life provide,

"Than public means, that public manners breeds (b):

And in this *bitterness* of misery, he adopted the resolution, wherein he was, no doubt, confirmed by Green, his townsman, and relation, to address his *pretty verses* to Elizabeth.

It may be pertinently asked, was Elizabeth

(b) Sonnet 91, Malone Sup. 670.

a princess,

a princess, who was likely to receive such verses; was Shakspeare a poet, who was likely to write such verses? I answer both these questions, positively, in the affirmative. We have seen her natural voluptuousness; we have beheld her passion for praise; we have observed her great ministers, offering her the grossest flattery, which she received, as her accustomed due. We know, that Mister Speaker, and *the house*, again and again went up, in order to woo her to (c) wed; she was courted by subjects and foreigners, by princes and kings; and, at the age of forty, she was addressed by the Duke D'Alençon, who came to England, in (d) 1572, "a passionate pilgrim," to offer his vows:

"A woman, I forswore; but, I will prove,

"Thou being a goddess, I forswore not thee."

Now, Mr. Malone (e) admits, what the *Sonnets* demonstrate, "that many of them were written to show the propriety of marriage."

As to the second question; Shakspeare knew, perfectly, the real character of Elizabeth, which made her the dupe of daily sollicitation; he saw how many men of less genius, and

(c) Lodge, II. vol. ii. p. 138.

(d) Sir T. Smith's life, 147—159.

(e) Supp. vol. i. p. 579.

fewer pretensions, than his own, had gained their objects, and risen to greatness, by gratifying her domineering passion: And, thus was he induced to send her, by the Lord Chamberlain, no doubt, his *sugr'd sonnets*, composed in *filed phrase*, which no other woman, than Elizabeth, would have been pleased to receive, and no other poet, than Shakspeare, could easily have written.

Yet, those facts, and this reasoning, had no influence upon Mr. Malone's mind. Though he cannot tell, with all the help of his learned coadjutors, to whom the *sugr'd sonnets* were addressed; yet, he is positive (*f*) that, of the whole number of one hundred and fifty-four, there were addressed to a man one hundred and twenty, and twenty-eight to a lady; to *show her the propriety of marriage*. Now; Shakspeare, who knew his own purpose, expressly says:—

“ Let not my love be call'd idolatry;

“ Nor my beloved, as an idol shew;

“ Since all alike my songs, and praises, be,

“ To ONE, of ONE, still such, and ever so (*g*).

Thus, in the arithmetic of Mr. Malone *one* is, by a ready operation, multiplied into *two*:

(*f*) Supp^t. vol. i. p. 579.

(*g*) Sonnet 105—Mal. Supp^t. vol. i. p. 666.

He *can divide, split hairs, and still divide*, it seems. The fact is, that Shakspeare had not leisure to write one hundred and twenty such sonnets to any *man*; being wholly occupied in *providing for the day, which was passing over him*; that the poet had no *love*, but a teeming wife, to whom he was strongly attached, by early ties; and for whom he could hardly provide, by any means: Add to these circumstances, that in another sonnet, Shakspeare maintains the *unity* of his *object*, by saying to *his idol*, Elizabeth:

“ For, to *no other pass, my verses tend,*

“ Than of *your graces, and your gifts, to tell;*

“ And more, much more, than in my verse can fit,

“ Your own glass shows you, when you look in it (*b*).

Yet, Mr. Malone is not convinced: He still objects, that many more of the sonnets are addressed to a male, than to a female (*i*). His objection proves, that he did not know, that Elizabeth was often considered as a man:—

(*b*) *Ib.* 665.

(*i*) Mr. Malone considers it, as one of the great defects of these sonnets, “ the majority of them not being directed to a female, to whom alone such ardent expressions of esteem [love] could with propriety be addressed.” [*Supplem^t. vol. i. p. 685.*]

In poetry; Drant hails her as a (*k*) *Prince*; Spenser paints her as a *Prince* (*l*): In prose Ascham celebrates her as a (*m*) *Prince*; Bacon describes her as a *Prince*, unparalleled among women (*n*). Add to this, that there was much

(*k*) In Drant's verses presented to the Queen's Majestie, being then at Cambridge, for the name of his degree:

" A *Prince*, extract from hautie house,

" A *Prince* of pompouse porte,

" Approacheth here, whose ancitours,

" Triumphe in glories forte.

" Cum loftie poets cum,

" Strike up in regall rate,

" To pennes, to pennes, pursue the chase,

" Ye have a game of state.

[Drant's *medicinable moral*, that is, the two books of Horace his satyres—Englyshed. Printed by Marsh, 1566.]

(*l*) " Most peerless *Prince*, most peerless poetres,

" The true *Pandora* of all heavenly graces,

" Divine Eliza; —————

[The Tears of the Muses. Hughs Edit. vol. 5. p. 1377.]

(*m*) " It is your shame, I speake to you all, you yong gentlemen of England," says Ascham, " that *one mayde* [Queen Elizabeth, in the margin] should go beyond you all in excellency of learning: Amongest all the benefites that God hath blessed me withall, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me, to be one poore minister in setting forward these excellent giftes of learning, in thys most excellent *prince*."—[The *Scolemaster*, 1571. p. 21.]

(*n*) " Queene Elizabeth, a *Prince*, that if Plutarch were now alive to write lyves by parallels, would trouble him to find for her a parallell among women."

[Advancement of Learning. Ed. 1605, p. 35.]

darkness,

darkness, and confusion, introduced into writing, in the days of Shakspeare, by the frequent use of the masculine pronoun *his* instead of the neuter demonstrative, *it* (*o*). But, of these sonnets, I have not undertaken to clear the obscure, to reconcile the discrepant, or to disentangle the knotty. When Shakspeare draws his topics of praise from metaphysics, he is, like other metaphysicians, cold, dark, and unintelligible. Happy! had Johnson criticised Shakspeare, as a metaphysical poet, rather than Cowley, or Donne. But, this is less to be regretted, *considering into whose hands the task was to fall*:—In the *folio* life of our illustrious dramatist, Mr. Malone will, no doubt, find room for a particular chapter, in which “to ear so barren a land;” barren, because hitherto uncultivated. As for me; it is sufficient, that I maintain my great position, that the *sugr'd sonnets* were addressed by Shakspeare to Elizabeth, whom the greatest philologists, and philosophers, of her

(*o*) With a view to this point, read the first sonnet of Shakspeare, in Mal. Sup^t. vol. i. p. 581:

From fairest creatures we desire increase,
That, thereby, beauties *rose* might never die;
But, that the riper should, by time decrease,
His [its] tender heir might bear *his* [its] memory.

reign, address'd both as a male, and female.

Knowing the passions of Elizabeth, and willing to gratify them, Shakspeare opens his purpose, in his first sonnet, by a direct address to the great object of his flattery :

“ Thou, that art now the world's fresh ornament,
“ And *only herald* to the *gaudy spring*.

Whatever may have been the beauty, or celebrity, of the Warwickshire lassies, in that age, I doubt, whether the prettiest of them could properly be called *the world's fresh ornament*, and *only herald to the gaudy spring*. Our panegyrist goes on, in his second sonnet, to praise his love, as the heir of perpetual youth; as the object of universal admiration :

“ When forty winters shall besiege thy brow,
“ And dig deep trenches in thy beauties' field,
“ Thy youth's proud livery, *so gaz'd on now*,
“ Will be a tatter'd weed of small worth held (*p*).

Queen Elizabeth was certainly forty, in the year 1573; and was probably more than fifty,

(*p*) He repeats this topic of flattery, from universal admiration, in the 5th sonnet :

“ The lovely gaze, where every eye doth dwell.”

But, no Warwickshire girl could merit the praise, nor any Warwickshire poet feign this universality of admiration, with respect to a *local* beauty.

at the epoch of this panegyric : But, this objection, in the present case, does not strike with the same force, as when applied to other women of inferior rank, and of less affectation, in their daily habits. At the age of sixty, Elizabeth was commonly addressed by ministers, and ambassadors, as an *Angel*, as a *Goddeſs* (q) : Moreover, lord Orford has proved, that Elizabeth *dawnced*, when she was *sixty-eight* ; and from this circumstance, he reasonably inferred, that it was equally natural for her to be in love, as to *dawnce*, at so advanced an age. In prosecution of his topic of praise, from her youth, and beauty, Shakspeare, with great address, holds up to her, in his third sonnet, a mirrour, which might recal, by a retrospective image, very agreeable sensations : —

“ *Thou art thy mother’s glass, and she, in thee,*

“ *Calls back the lovely April of her prime.*”

But, it was in his seventh sonnet, that he gave to her, and left to us, an undoubt-

(q) When she was *sixty-seven*, Veriken, the Dutch ambassador, told her at his audience, “ that he had longed to undertake that voyage to see her majesty, who for *beauty* and wisdom excelled all other princes of the world.” [Cat. of Royal, and Noble, Authors, vol. i. 140.]

ed specimen of real poetry, and of genuine praise.

- “ Lo! in the orient, when the gracious light
 “ Lifts up his burning head, each under eye
 “ Doth homage to his new-appearing sight;
 “ Serving with looks his sacred majesty:
 “ And, having climb’d the steep-up heavenly hill,
 “ Resembling strong youth, in his middle age;
 “ Yet, mortal looks adore his beauty still,
 “ Attending on his golden pilgrimage:
 “ But, when from high-moſt pitch, with weary car,
 “ Like feeble age, he reeleth from the day,
 “ The eye’s, ’fore duteous, now converted are
 “ From his low tract, and look another way:
 “ So thou, thyself outgoing in thy noon,
 “ Unlook’d on, dieſt, unless thou get a son.”

He descends from this *highest pitch*, and woes her to marriage, in his eighth sonnet, by allusions to music; from the *true concord of well-tuned sounds, by unions married*. And, in his ninth sonnet, he remonstrates:

- “ Is it for fear to wet a widow’s eye,
 “ That thou consum’st thyself in single life?
 “ Ah! if thou issueless shalt hap to die,
 “ The *world will wail thee*, like a makeless wife;
 “ The world will be thy widow, and still weep,
 “ That thou no form of thee hast left behind,
 “ When every PRIVATE widow well may keep,
 “ By children’s eyes, her husband’s shape in mind.

I might here close my proofs. A Warwickshire *wench*, however *pretty*, and *witty*, would scarcely

scarcely have been bewailed by the *world*, had she died issueless: And, she would have been, by the loss of her husband, as far from being a *public* widow, as Elizabeth would have been a *private* widow, by the demise of “*a well-wished king.*” But, the subject is curious for its novelty, and the argument is important for its inferences: and, I will, therefore, exhibit Shakspeare, as a woer, in some other lights. He courts Elizabeth, in his tenth sonnet, by assuring her, *that she was beloved by many*; and he conjured her to be, “*as thy presence is, gracious, and kind.*” In his ecstasy, he fancies, that she had given herself to her adorer, as “*a fair gift:*” But, awaking from his reverie, he cries out:

“ Thus have I had thee, as a dream doth flatter,
 “ In sleep a KING (r) —————.”

Propriety could never have used such *compliments to knitters i' th' sun.* In the seventeenth sonnet, he breaks out in a *fine phrenzy*, to praise the present, and to prophecy of the future:

“ Who will believe my verse in time to come,
 “ If it were filled with *your most high deserts?*

(r) See the 87th sonnet: and see the 114th sonnet:

“ Or whether doth my mind, being crown'd with you,

“ Drink up *the monarch's plague*, this flattery:

“ ———, tis flattery in my seeing,

“ And my *great mind* most *kingly* drinks it up.”

“ Though

- " Though heaven yet knows, it is but as a tomb,
 " Which *hides your life, and shows not half your parts.*
 " If I could write the beauty of your eyes,
 " And, in fresh numbers, number all your graces,
 " The age to come would say, this poet lies;
 " Such heavenly touches ne'er touch'd earthly faces:
 " So should my papers, *yellow'd with their age,*
 " Be *scorn'd, like old men of less truth, than tongue;*
 " And, your true rights be term'd a poet's rage,
 " A stretched metre of an antique song:
 " But, were some child of your's alive, that time,
 " You should live twice; in it, and in my rhyme."

Shakspeare was not only possessed of poetic frenzy, but enjoyed a quality, whereof he has not hitherto been suspected, the *second sight*: He not only knew, that Elizabeth, the *master-mistress* of his passion, would die *issueless*; but, he foresaw the fate of his " MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS;" and that they would, though *yellowed with their age*, be *scorned, like old men of less truth, than tongue*. Becoming more reasonable, in his ninety-sixth sonnet, he calmly describes Elizabeth, in such explicit terms, as to remove even the doubts of scepticism:

- " Some say thy fault is youth, some wantonness;
 " Some say thy grace is youth, and gentle sport;
 " Both grace, and faults, are lov'd of more and less:
 " Thou mak'st faults graces, that to thee resort;
 " As on the finger of a throned queen
 " The *basest jewel will be well esteem'd;*

“ So are *those errors*, that in thee are seen,
 “ To *truths translated*, and for true things deem’d.
 “ How many gazers might’st thou lead away,
 “ If thou would’st use the strength of all thy state (s).

While

(s) Let the curious reader, laying aside his prepossession, advert to several expressions, which are scattered, by Shakspeare, through his sonnets, with a lavish hand. In the 23d sonnet, he says, “ who plead for love, and *look for recompence.*” From whom could he look for recompence, but from Elizabeth? In the 25th sonnet he talks of those, who boast of *public honour*, and *proud titles*; and hints, that *fortune* had *barred him of such triumphs*: yet, consoles himself with recollecting the fate of *great princes favourites*, who, at a *frown*, oft in *their glory die*. In the 31st sonnet, he flatters her, by saying, “ thy bosom is endeared with all hearts.” In the 36th sonnet, he bewails his situation; as it might prevent her from *honouring* him with her *public kindness*. In the 37th sonnet, he gives her pre-eminence of *beauty*, *birth*, *wealth*, and *wit*: And in the the 38th sonnet, he heightens this panegyric, by suggesting, that her accomplishments were *too excellent*, for every *vulgar paper to rehearse*: After speaking of her *beauty*, and *bounty*, in the 53d sonnet, he adds; “ and you in every *blessed shape*, we know:” He then speaks of *the universality* of her praises, in the 69th sonnet; and prophecies of the *eternity* of her celebrations, in the 55th, and 59th sonnets: All tongues, he tells, commend *her outward*; but, even her foes commend the beauty of *her mind*, which they *measure*, by *her deeds*. [See the 69th sonnet]. He afterwards adds; that she is as *fair in knowledge*, as in hue. [See the 82d sonnet.] He then recalls his *forgetful muse*, and bids her in his 100th sonnet, “ sing to the ear that doth thy lays esteem, and gives thy pen both “ skill and argument.” Whoever will consider, attentively, those

While Elizabeth hath such strong pretensions to the honour of Shakspeare's panegyric, Mr. Malone, and his coadjutors, have been wholly unable to name either man, or woman, who could reasonably pretend to rival claims. With such quickness of thought, does the poet *glance from earth to heaven*, that my "heavy ignorance" cannot follow him. In his flights, he points indeed sometimes at a man, and often at a woman; yet he generally rests, at last, on "his fair subject;"—"finding "her worth a limit past his praise." One hundred and twenty of those sonnets are supposed, though without sufficient proof, to be addressed to a (*t*) friend; and are reprobated, though without adequate cause, as professing too much love to be addressed to a man. (*u*)

When

those appropriate topics must perceive, I think, that they could have been addressed to no other personage, than Elizabeth, who is either particularly described, or often alluded to, through one hundred and fifty-four sonnets.

(*t*) Mr. Malone might have seen in Howard's Collections, p. 521, "An original love-letter of Sir George Hayward, which was written, in 1550, and begins, "My dearest *friend*, my second self, nay my inseparable self; and ends "your affectionated and true friend."

(*u*) In Fenn's letters, vol. ii. p. 355, Mr. Malone might have seen the Duke of Norfolk, when writing to John Paston,

When the admirers of Shakspeare come to perceive, that his sonnets were addressed to Elizabeth, they will be happy to find, that the poet was incapable of such grossness. The fact is, that Shakspeare, knowing the voracity of Elizabeth, determined to gorge her with praise. In executing his purpose, "*he exhausted worlds, and then imagin'd new.*" Ought we to wonder that, in performing this great operation, he should confound the sexes? Let us appeal to *the truth*, which is always the best justification: He knew the mighty object of his adoration to be of a very *mixed staple*: and he addressed her, as Spenser, Raleigh, and Bacon had addressed her before, both as a princess, and a prince; as a heroine,

Pafton, in 1485, conclude his letter, "your lover, J. Norfolk." Mr. Malone might have perused in the Cabala, p. 213, the following Love-letter from the Earl of Effex to Mr. Secretary Davison: "As at my departure, so upon my return, I must needs salute you, as one, whom then, and now, and ever, I must *love very much*: I would gladly see you, but I am tied here a while; when I may have occasion to shew *my love to you*, I will do more than I now promise. In the mean time, wishing you that happiness, which men, in this world, ought to seek, I take my leave, your assured friend, R. Effex."—[There are in the Cabala, p. 213—15, other letters of the Earl of Effex to Mr. Secretary Davison, which are all written in a similar strain of *love*].

and

and a hero ; as an angel, and a goddess ; as Adonis, and Helen (*v*). Knowing her patience, while listening to panegyric, Shakspeare determined, with the resolution of his own Dogberry, to bestow his *whole tediousness upon her*, if he were as tedious as a king (*w*).

He felt, indeed, some moments of weariness ; and feared, at times, the power of a rival. We may learn these facts, from what he admits himself, when he cries out, in his eightieth sonnet :

- “ O ! how I faint, when I of you do write ;
 “ Knowing a *better spirit* doth use your name,
 “ And in the praise thereof, spends all his might,
 “ To make me tongue-ty’d, speaking of your fame :
 “ But, since *your worth*, (wide as the ocean is)
 “ The humble, as the proudest sail doth bear,
 “ My saucy bark, inferior far to his,
 “ On *your broad main*, doth wilfully appear.

(*v*) In her last progress, at Sir Henry Leighe’s, the Queen was received with a Dialogue, between *Constancie*, and *Inconstancie*. *Constancie* addresses her : “ most excellent : shall
 “ I say Lady, or *Goddesse* ? whom I should envie to be but
 “ a lady, and cannot denie to have the power of a *goddesse*.”
 [See *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, p. 16].

(*w*) He addressed to her 154 sonnets of 14 lines each, which, of course, amounted to 2156 lines, in praise of her beauty, and accomplishments, without once touching her *government*, which he knew would rouze her political jealousy, and offend against her *prerogative* ; which she deemed sacred.

“ Your

- “ Your shallowest help will hold me up afloat,
 “ Whilst he upon your *foundless deep* doth ride:
 “ Or, being wreck’d, I am a worthless boat,
 “ He a *tall building*, and of goodly pride:
 “ Then, *if he thrive*, and I be cast away,
 “ The worst was this; my love was my decay.”

It would gratify a reasonable curiosity to know what *better sprite* it were, of whom Shakspeare feared the superiority, and envied the success. Mr. Malone has suggested, that it was (x) Spenser, who was then in the zenith of his reputation; who had reared, in 1590, the Fairie Queen, as “a tall building,” to eternize her name: And, Mr. Malone has diligently shewn, by having ransacked the records, that Spenser had a pension from Elizabeth, contrary to the idle suppositions of his biographers. Now, these facts are in themselves sufficient, to confirm the probability, that Shakspeare addressed his sonnets to Elizabeth, in emulation of Spenser, and in hopes of *thriving*, as he had *thriven*. Yet, the reasoning of Mr. Malone, “that there was certainly
 “ no poet in his own time with whom he
 “ needed to have feared a comparison,” is not, I think, conclusive. He does not, sufficiently, carry his mind back to the persons, and things, of that time; and he does not,

(x) Supplement, vol. i. p. 645.

properly,

properly, bring in experience to the aid of his recollection. We all know, that the wretched Settle was the rival of the mighty Dryden; who, for a time, both feared, and hated him. And, Shakspeare, who appears to have been modest by nature, may have been *tongue-tyed*, by some petty poet, before he had been flattered, by praise, to think highly of his own performances. As Settle was a court-poet for a while, in opposition to Dryden, was not Churchyard a court-poet, in like opposition to Shakspeare? The Queen spent her New-year's-day of 1592, at *Hampton-Court*, when, and where, Churchyard presented her "*A pleasant Conceite*," penned in verse (y). He felicitated himself, in the following terms:

- " The book, I call'd of late *my dear adieu*,
 " Is now become my welcome home most kind:
 " For, old mishaps are heal'd with *fortune new*,
 " That brings a balme to cure, to cure a wounded mind.
 " From God, and *Prince*, I now such favour find,
 " That full afloat *my ship* it rydes,
 " At anchorhold *against all checking tydes*."

(y) It was printed, for Warde, in 1593. There is a Dedication to the Queen; "which *Pleasant Conceite*," he tells her, "I have presumed (this Newyear's day) to present
 " to your Majesty, in sign, and token, that your gracious
 " goodness towards me oftentimes (and chiefly now for *my*
 " *penfion*) shall never go out of my remembrance." [See that very curious book, Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.]

The time, the place, the parties, the pension, the fortune new, the *prince*, the *ship*, riding at anchor, on the *broad main* of Elizabeth, against checking tides; are all, surely, striking coincidences (z). Raleigh was the patron both of Spenser, and of Churchyard: Hatton was also the patron of Churchyard. Why Churchyard should have been preferred, at court, to Shakspeare, it is vain to enquire the

(z) From the notices of Wood, in the *Athenæ*, Oxon. vol. i. p. 317, a life of Thomas Churchyard might be written. He was born at Shrewsbury; and lived, and fought, and wrote, and suffered hardships, in the reigns of Edward 6, Mary, and Elizabeth. During the last of these reigns, he furnished the court with many Interludes, or other *Conceites*, for the Queen's divertisement. He wrote, as is well known, *The Worthines of Wales*, which, forming part of Shakspeare's library, may be seen, at this day, in Norfolk-street, with the name, and notes, of the great dramatist, written in many parts of it, in a fair hand, and genuine character, to the utter defiance of all sceptics, upon the point of their authenticity. Churchyard died poor, says Wood; and is buried near the famous poet, John Skelton, in the choir of St. Margaret's church, Westminster. His epitaph is in Weaver, 497. But, none of the biographers can tell, when he died. By inspecting the parish register, I found, that Mr. Thomas Churchyard was buried, on the 4th of April 1604. On observing a \times before his name, I asked the meaning of the cross: the clerk, with the importance, which is hereditary in the family of parish-clerks, informed me, that it was a mark of *eminence*; as, indeed, the prefixed *Mister* plainly confirms.

cause, and useles to regret the effect. Our great dramatist, probably, injured himself by paying such frequent court to Lord Southampton, who had not the interest, during Elizabeth's reign, to procure for him the smallest favour. Whether it were Spenser, or Churchyard, who roused the emulation of Shakspeare, they both looked to Elizabeth, as the sun of their worship: And, from this circumstance, we may presume, that he, too, must have pointed to that great luminary, as the *loadstone* of his heart, and *loadstarre* of his eyes.

I have now closed the proofs, which have convinced me, that the sonnets of Shakspeare were addressed by him to Elizabeth. The strong presumption, which is set up by those proofs, cannot be destroyed, but by proofs of greater weight, that would carry with them a contrary persuasion.

The believers, who recognized, in the *sugr'd sonnets*, the *pretty verses*, of Shakspeare, naturally inferred, from the plainest principles of common sense, that, as Elizabeth had given pensions to other poets for less *pretty verses*, she might, probably, have sent a letter of compliment to Masterre William, onne theyre greate excellence. The believers knew, moreover, that the presumption, which arose from
the

the dictates of common sense, was strengthened, by collateral evidence. And they recollected, what Mr. Malone seems to have forgotten, an additional proof in OTWAY'S *Prologue* to his *Caius Marius*:

“ Our Shakspeare wrote too in *an age as blest,*

“ The happiest poet of his time, and best;

“ A gracious *prince's* favour cheer'd his muse,

“ A constant favour he ne'er fear'd to lose (*a*).”

Yet, neither a strong presumption, nor collateral evidence, will satisfy the public accuser, without *rigid demonstration*. One of his great objections, indeed, is, that this epistle had an *archetype*, after which it was formed (*b*). On the contrary, the believers reasonably inferred, that, since an *archetype* had existed, a *copy* might probably be produced; and, since a precedent of such a letter had been shown, Elizabeth's letter might fairly be admitted, ac-

(*a*) Mal. Shaksf. vol. i. p. 217.—Otway lived at an epoch, when such anecdotes were still remembered. The *blessed age* was plainly the happy reign of Elizabeth, who is, with great propriety, called by Otway, as she had been called by Shakspeare, a *gracious prince*. Churchyard, we may recollect, called her a *prince*, in his dedication to her: And, Elizabeth calls herself a *prince*, in her letter to Lady Paget.—Mal. Inquiry, p. 114.

(*b*) Inquiry, 27:—“A model,” says he, with great *terse-ness*, “either now existing or *which* once existed, on *which* “it has been constructed.”

ording to the established practice, as a genuine document.

But, this logic the public accuser does not admit into his code. The presumption, arising from the probability; the collateral evidence, growing out of the scenic history; the archetype for the copy; and the precedent for the practice; are all disregarded by our logical inquirer, as supplying less evidence, than rigid demonstration. He thinks it sufficient, in that (c) disregard, "merely to contrast the *orthography* of this, and the other, papers with the spelling of Elizabeth herself, or any other writers of her age." In prosecution of this thought, he deems it equally reasonable, to contrast manuscripts, which exhibit the orthography of the party, with books, that generally show the spelling of the printer. In pursuance of this reasoning, he supposes what he ought to prove; nay, he assumes what he has disproved, viz. that the *orthography* of the reign of Elizabeth was uniform in its practice, and systematic in its principle. And, in order to entitle himself, as a fair logician, to reason from the uniformity of spelling; and so, to prove the spuriousness of Elizabeth's epistle, from its want

(c) Inquiry, p. 31-33.

of conformity to the settled rule, he quotes a thousand passages of (*d*) books, from the epoch of Chaucer to the days of Norden, which demonstrate, that there was, in those times, no settled rule, and no uniformity of practice, in the phraseology of the English language. If there were no settled rule, there could be then no standard of uniform practice; and if there were no uniform practice, there could never be any deviation from the established phraseology.

The public accuser, who is continually mistaking *assumptions* for *proofs*, proceeds, however, a step further. He contrasts letters of Elizabeth, in the Museum, with her letter, in Norfolk-street; in order to show *consistency* in her spelling, and, at the same moment, to show discrepancy, between the genuine letters, and the pretended epistle. But, was she consistent, in her own practice? Without attending to *the fact*, he has attempted to answer this question, by showing her learning, from her speaking many tongues; as if *speaking*, and *writing*, languages were not very distinct qualities; as if millions, at this day, did not

(*d*) See the various quotations, which, without gratifying curiosity, only prove, that there was not then any settled orthography: Inquiry, 35 to 69.

speak English, who cannot write it, accurately. He has, indeed, been persuaded to make another move in this game of draughts, contrary to his better judgment: He was, in this manner, induced to publish *a table*; from the *scheme* of a friend, in order to establish the *consistency* of the queen's orthography; though this *scheme*, and that *table*, are *inconsistent* with his own documents (e).

I will, now, proceed to prove, from the public accuser's *own shewing*, that the orthography of Elizabeth was not formed on any settled principle, nor used according to any regular practice. In her letter to Lord Shrewsbury, she writes (f):—"Let no grief touche
 " your *harte* for fear of my disease for I assure
 " you if my creadit *wer* not *greater* than my
 " shewe *ther* is no beholdar *wold* *believe* that
 " ever I had *bin* touched with *suche* a mala-
 " dye." In this short passage, I propose to show a contrariety in the spelling, by the pen of Elizabeth, in no fewer than *eight* words. In another of her letters to the same Lord Shrewsbury, she says (g):—"How loth we are

(e) Compare Mal. Inquiry, p. 74, with p. 113-14.

(f) Inquiry, 113.

(g) Lodge's II. vol. iii. 112. In Murden, 185, she has
 " *berilely* wish."

“ to burden o’ own subjects wth charges o’
 “ own *hart* doth know best.” In a letter to
 her ambaffadors, ſhe has “ wherewith they
 “ *were* much ſatiſfied (*b*).” In the ſame
 letter ſhe ſpeaks of “ our *gret* ſeal,” in-
 ſtead of *greatar* ſeal. She tells her ambaf-
 fadors, in the ſame letter, “ there was no ar-
 “ ticle ne covenant in the treatye (*i*).” In
 oppoſition to *wold. beleve*, in one page, ſhe
 utters *would* wiſh, in the next (*j*): And, ſhe
 adviſes Sir Harry Sydney, in theſe words:
 “ *Belive* not, *thogh* (*k*) *the* ſwere that *they*
 “ can be *ful* found, whoſe parents fought the
 “ rule that *the full* fayne *would* have.” This
 quotation, which is taken from one of Mr.
 Malone’s authorities, is full of the *contrarieties*
 of the *conſiſtent* Queen Beſs: *Belive* for *beleve*,
the for *they*, *ful* for *full*, *would* in place of
wold. Inſtead of had *bin* touched, which ſhe
 tells Shrewſbury ſhe had not *bin*, by the ſmall-
 pox, ſhe affures Sydney that, Prometheus

(*b*) Forbes’s State Letters, vol. i. p. 109.

(*i*) In the ſame letter, ſhe tells her ambaffadors, “ that
 “ *althogh* it [ſhe has yt and hit, at times] was not compre-
 “ henſed by any ſpeciall article within the *treaty*.”

(*j*) See Mal. Inquiry, p. 113-14.

(*k*) In Forbes, vol. i. p. 109, ſhe has, *althogh* it was
 not.

“hathe *bine* myne to long (*l*).” Of *suche* contrarieties we may easily find *such* a (*m*) number, as will make the public accuser ashamed of the *uniformity* of Elizabeth’s spelling. Strange! that a lady, who had so many lovers, and thought so much of love, should have been so irregular in her orthography, as to exhibit, in the same page, of that *consistent* critic, *loving souvraine*, in opposition to *lovinge souveraine* (*n*). With the same inconsistency, she speaks of the *highest* lord, and “How yreful *wyl* the *hieft* power be may you be sure “whā murmure *shal* be made of his pleasing “*wyl* (*o*).” With the same discrepance, she writes to Lady Drury (*p*): “*Bee well ware* “my Bessè you strive not with divine ordinance:” Yet, she writes to Sydney (*q*) “A sole *to* late *be* wares, whan all the perrel

(*l*) Sydney Pap. quoted by Mr. Malone, p. 7.

(*m*) Lodge II. vol. iii. p. 112.

(*n*) See Mal. Inq. p. 113-114, for the curious fact: and Lodge’s Illust. vol. ii. p. 154:—She has also *sovraine*, and *sovrayne*, [Ib. 154-5] and *severeign* in Fuller’s Worth. Oxf. 336: We have here the thing, which was constantly in the mind of Elizabeth, exhibited, by her pen, in six different forms.

(*o*) Mal. Inq. 114: and, see her letter to Sydney [pa. 8.] for *shall* and *will*; and *wil*, in Nichols’s Prog. vol. i. p. 24.

(*p*) Mal. Inq. 113.

(*q*) Sydney Pap. vol. i. 8.

“ is

“ is past;” and she adds, in the same contradictory strain, to Sydney (*r*): “ Whan our
 “ lome is *wel* nigh done, our work is new to
 “ begin.” She talks to Lady Drury of her
 “ married *hap* :” Yet, she speaks to Shrewsbury (*s*) of “ the best good *happe* that any
 “ prince on earthe can befaule.” To Lady Paget she writes (*t*): “ Let nature *therfor*
 “ not hurt yourself but give place to the
 “ *givour* :” Contrariwise she writes to Lord Strange (*u*): “ *Therefore* at this tyme, direct
 “ *you* to repayre hyther than *yourself* shall see
 “ may stand with your father’s lykyng in this
 “ his sicknes, but yet considering your ab-
 “ sence we have been ernest with our *coosyn*
 “ your wiff, that she *wold* move *yow* to send
 “ up your eldest sone(*v*).” She thanked *goud*
 Sir Harry Wallop “ for soe othr services than
 “ comen commissiōs for wiche in skroile of

(*r*) *Ib.*—she has also—*well desarvers*—and *worsar hap*.

(*s*) Lodge *Illust.* vol. ii. p. 155. (*t*) *Mal. Inq.* 114.

(*u*) Murden, 185: In Lodge, vol. iii. p. 112, she has *cousin*; and in Forbes, vol. ii. p. 415, she has her *cofin*: we have already had *bin*, and *bine*. She speaks above of giving “ place to the *givour* :” in her often quoted letter to Sydney, she advises him “ not to consult so longe as til advis come
 “ to late to the *givers*.”

(*v*) In her letter to Lady Drury—[*Inquiry* 114] she has *you*, and *yours*.

“ other

“other *memories* I faile not to locke in my
 “best *memorye*.” Contrary to this again,
 she advifes Sydney (*w*): “Let this *me-*
 “*moriall* be only committed to *Vulcanes*
 “base keping.” In her letter of thanks
 to her very good *cousins* Lord, and Lady,
 Shrewsbury, for kindly discharging the *dyet*,
 at *Buxtons*, of her *cousin* of *Leycester*, she
 writes (*x*): “This good *happe* then grow-
 “ing from *you*, ye might thinke *yourselves* (*y*)
 “most unhappye *yf* you served such a *prince* as
 “should not be as readye gratyoullie to confi-
 “der of *yt*.” She says contrariwise to Syd-
 ney (*z*): “If aught have *bine* amys at home,
 “I wyll pache thogh I cannot hole *it* (*a*).”

I will here close my proof, on this head;
 and sum up the result. In order to demon-
 strate the uniform orthography, and consistent
 spelling, of Elizabeth, Mr. Malone has given a
table, which was schemed by a friend; com-
 prehending *five-and-twenty* words (*b*). I will

(*w*) Sydney Lett. vol. i. p. 8. (*x*) Lodge, vol. ii. p. 155.

(*y*) In the same letter she has *yourselves*.

(*z*) Syd. Letters, vol. i. p. 8.

(*a*) In her letter to Lady Paget [Inquiry 114] she has
 “yet is *bit* sent.”

(*b*) Inquiry, 73-74.

now confront him, and his friend, with a *table* of more than *fifty* words, which might have been enlarged; in order to demonstrate the inconsistent spelling, and unsystematic orthography, of Elizabeth:—

Answer	Aunswear	Aunfer (c)
Althoght	Thogh	Although
Bee	Be	
Beleve	Belive	Beleeve
Bin	Bine	Bene
Cafe	Cace (d)	Cace
Calisse (the Town)	Calles (e)	
Coufin	Cofin Coofin	Coufyn (f)
Comforte	Comfort (g)	
Dear	Deere (b)	
Debt	Debte	
Ful	Full	
Hap	Happe	
Hart	Harte	Hertlely
How	Howe (i)	
Highest	Hiest	
Give	Gever (k)	

(c) See the Queen's letter to her ambassadors in France, Forbes, vol. ii. 414.

(d) Inquiry, 114; Lodge II. vol. ii. 155.

(e) Forbes, vol. ii. 415.

(f) Inquiry, 114; Lodge, vol. ii. 155. (g) *Ib.* 362.

(b) Howard's Col. 246-7.

(i) Inquiry, 114; Lodge, vol. ii. 155. (k) *Id.*

Givur	Givers	
Greatar	Gret [ar]	
If	Yf	
It	Yt Hit	
King	Kinge (<i>l</i>)	
Leycester	Leicester (<i>m</i>)	
Loving	Lovinge	
May	Maie (<i>n</i>)	
Mee	Me (<i>o</i>)	
Memoriall	Memorie <i>tz</i>	
Moe	More (<i>p</i>)	
Mynde	Minde (<i>q</i>)	
Raigne	Reigne (<i>r</i>)	
Shall	Shal	
Shrewsbury	Shrewesbury (<i>s</i>)	
Soveraigne	Soveraine	
Sovraigne	Souveraine	
Soverayne	Sovereign	
Such	Suche	
Thanckfull	Thake	Thankfullie (<i>t</i>)
Than	Then (<i>u</i>)	

(*l*) Howard's Col. 247. Mal. Inq. 114.

(*m*) Cabala, 26; Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 155.

(*n*) Inquiry, 114; Lodge, vol. ii. 155.

(*o*) Howard's Col. 247. (*p*) *Ib.* 246-7.

(*q*) Mal. Inq. 114; Howard's Col. 246.

(*r*) Letter to Sydney, and Howard's Col. 246.

(*s*) Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 82.

(*t*) In the same letter—Lodge, vol. ii. 155.

(*u*) Mal. Inq. 112; Howard's Col. 247.

They

They	The	Thei
Ther	There	Theyre
Therfor	Therefore	
Thogh	Though (v)	
To	Too (w)	
Treaty	Treatye	
Ware	Wares	
Were	Wer (x)	
Well	Wel	
Will	Wyl	Wil
Which	Wiche	
When	Whan	
Wyfe	Wyf	
Would	Wold	Woulde
You	Yow	
Your	Youer	
Yours	Yowrs	
Yourfelves	Yourfelses	

Such, then, are the facts, which, as they are chiefly drawn from Mr. Malone's own documents, demonstrate, in opposition to his theory, that Elizabeth had neither consistency in her spelling, nor uniformity in her practice of orthography: If she had no consistency, how can a rule be formed, from that want of

(v) Howard's Col. 246; Mal. Inq. 114.

(w) Letter to Sydney, and Howard's Col. 246.

(x) Inquiry, 113; Forbes, vol. i. 109.

consistency,

consistency, to distinguish the genuine letters from the spurious, by applying what cannot be fixed to what is equally unstable. If he were to take the word *sovereign*, as an example, whereby to discover some inconsistency, which might be fatal to *the spurious*, what would he gain by his example, but a confutation of his own principles, after I have shown, distinctly, that Elizabeth hath spelt that familiar word, in *six* different modes? He has, in fact, adopted *your, shall, ther, be, for*; as words uniformly spelt by her; yet, have I shown *yowr, shal, theyre, bee, fore,* as direct contrarieties to that uniformity; without essaying to prove “this learned Queen, who was mistress of eight languages, to be such a *dolt* as not to know the true orthography of words thus familiar to her (*y*).” Truth strikes *the shears and measure* from his hand; yet does he continue to set out, with *nimble haste*, but without a yard, his *linsy-woolsey*, in open market. Candid inquirers often discover, and establish uncertainties from a certainty: It was reserved for our Inquirer, to

(*y*) Mal. Inquiry, p. 71: No; she, he, or they, only are *dolts*; who reason *absurdly* from the plainest topics; who are continually *asserting* instead of *arguing*; and who are, ever-and-anon, begging the question, which they ought to prove.

attempt the Herculean task of *establishing the same uncertainty from uncertainties.*

Such, however, is the perseverance, and courage, of the public accuser, that he is *no whitte* dismayed. He challenges *all comers* to show, that *and* was ever spelt with a final *e*, as it is in Elizabeth's epistle to Shakspeare. "I never once found the copulative *and*," he asseverates, "spelt as it is here, with a final *e*," though "from the time of Henry the fourth, "I have perused some thousand deeds and "other manuscripts (z)." This is, no doubt, a long life (from the time of Henry IV) of painful perusal, but not successful search! Among the black-letter books, which he has, carefully, collected, he has not, it seems, the very black-letter (*a*) book, which contains, not indeed some thousands, but several *ands* with the final *e*. Here are two, in a short passage: "Ande yf I have not that repentaunce, "even from the bottome of my herte, ande "beleve not that I am forgiven for Chrystes "fak, as aforefayde (*b*)." Yet, our challenger, because *The Lamentacyon* is not in his library, disputes the authority of this curious

(z) Inquiry, 33.

(a) See *The lamentacyon of a Christe agayst the Citty of London, for some certaine greate vyces used Therin:—Imprinted i y^e yere of our Lord m. d. xlviij.*

(b) Sign. e.iii.

book,

book, which will be *consigned to fame*, for having confuted this irrefragable critic. I will, however, quote a book, which he certainly has in his library (*c*). On the 24th of May 1517, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury: “ Methinke I nede
 “ not to be put to this busines, if they would
 “ have pondered the charge that they have
 “ put of late unto me, *ande* the paymentes
 “ that I have made of late.” Yet, the public accuser will not be convinced; because this quotation is not from a manuscript (*d*). Now, then, will I convince him, by quoting a manuscript:—“ Goode *Master* Stonley I doo
 “ moſte harteylye requyre youe to have pa-
 “ cyence w^t me *ande* to concyder what ex-
 “ treme charge I have been at whyche forced
 “ me to that I was lothe to breake w^t. youe
 “ off all men Gode by [be] they [the] juge
 “ Nevertheles at halloutyde I will w^t. godes
 “ grace fullye recompence youe ſo in they
 “ [the] meane tyme I moſte hartely requyre
 “ youe to have pacyence.

“ *Youres* afuredly, E: Duddleley (*e*).”

This,

(*c*) Lodge’s Illustrations, vol. i. p. 22.

(*d*) The manuscript letter is in the College of Heralds.

(*e*) This letter, which bears upon ſeveral parts of this inquiry,

This, then, is not one of the thousand manuscripts, which our critic has been perusing, from Henry the Fourth's time to the present (*f*)!

He is equally positive, on the word *forre*; "a mode of orthography, I believe, unprecedented," says he (*g*). Yet, he has frequently read, because he has often quoted, *Fenn's Letters*; in which he saw *ferr* and *ferre* for *far*; and *Byffor*, *Byfore*, *wberffor*, and *wberfoir* (*b*): But, he has not read, what would not have done him any disservice, as a

inquiry, was obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Craven Orde of Bloomsbury square, from his curious Collection. It is addressed: "To my verye louyng friend Master Stonley." [Stanley]—It is marked, on the back, in a hand of the time "The L. Dudley, CX, li-febr. 1572."—For this Lord Edward Dudley, who died on the 4th of July 1586, See Dugdale's Bar. tom. ii. p. 216-17.

(*f*) Nor, has our critic been perusing the ROLLS OF PARLIAMENT, wherein he would have seen the familiar copulative with a final *e*, and also a curious specimen of the English language, in Judge Rikhill's answer to the Commission of his liege Loord, during the year 1397: "*Ande* the same day of Septembre, alle the matieres and points before iknowe and confessid be the forssaide Duk be his owne honde fully and plainly iwrete, deliverid it to the same William Rikhill." [ROLLS, vol. iii. p. 378.]

(*g*) Inquiry, 34.

(*b*) Vol. ii. p. 204—234—244—70; vol. i. p. 21—27—28—29—30.

critic, “ *The fflores of Ouide de arte amandi* “ *with theyr englyfshe afore (i) them;*” wherein he would have seen a *precedent* of *forre (j)*. He, however, disputes the authority; whilst,—

“ ——— No power in England

“ Can alter a decree establish'd:

“ 'Twill be recorded for a *precedent*!

There are other words in Elizabeth's epistle, which our *positive* critic thinks equally unprecedented. *Maister* was the spelling of the word *Master*, at that period, in our *Maister's* vocabulary. But, in Dudley's Letter to Stonley, we have, repeatedly, seen *Master*. And he might have read in Spenser's *Three (k) Letters*, which he quotes, at times; “ But, “ *Master* Colin Clout is not every body; and “ albeit his olde companions *Master* Cuddey, “ and *Master* Hobbinol, be as little beholding

(i) Imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, with the types of Caxton, in 1513. This book is the more valuable, as it has an *Englyshe Alphabete*.

(j) Sign. A iiii: and see the *Literary Museum* of that very chaste editor Mr. Waldron, printed in 1792, *forre somme boone soothe poesye of Maister Lydgate*:—

“ *Forre* gyffe you doe me jubylye.”

Had our critic perused this fine specimen of *genuine* orthography, he had saved the trouble of much laborious reading to himself, and of fatiguing perusal to his readers.

(k) *Three Proper Letters*, imprinted by Bynneman, in 1580. p. 40.

“ to their mistresse poetrie, as ever you
 “ wift.” Hacluyt dedicated his *Divers (l)*
Voyages, “ To the right worshipfull and most
 “ vertuous gentleman *Master* Phillip Sydney
 “ Esquire.” Pulton dedicated his *Penal (m)*
Statutes, “ To the right worshipfull Sir Wil-
 “ liam Cordell, Knight, *Master* of the Roules :”
 and Pulton treated of *Master*, and Servant.
 This orthography occurs very frequently in
 the dedications of books, during the reign of
 Elizabeth (*n*). And the same mode of spelling
Mastyr, may be traced back to the times of
 our Edwards, and Henrys (*o*). Nothing but
 the

(*l*) Imprinted by Wodcocke, 1582.

(*m*) It was imprinted by C. Barker the Queen's printer,
 in 1578.

(*n*) Spenser dedicated his 64th sonnet, to his esteemed
 friend *Master* James Huish.—See a Type, or Figure, of
 Friendship, printed, in 1589: and see Fouldes's *Frogs and*
Mice, 1603: and see, though last, not least, Ascham's
Scolemaster, in 1571.

(*o*) See Fenn's Letters, every where. In 1460-1, To
 my Master Paston, vol. iii. p. 404. In 1461, To the right
 worshipfull *Mast* my master—Ib. vol. iv. and in p. 72, the
 right worshipfull *Mastre*, my master. In 1468, John Paston
 wrote to his mother: “ Recommend me to my sisters both
 “ and to the *Mastyr* my cosyn Dowbeny, Syr Jamys, Syr
 “ John Style and pray him to be good *mastyr* to lyttle Jak
 “ and to lerne him well.” [Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 8, 9;
 and see *Mastras*, vol. iv. Fenn, p. 18—130—224.—In the

the film, which scepticism has spread over *Maister Critic's* eyes, could have prevented him from seeing, every where, in his black-letter library, *Master, Mastyr, and Mastres*; as I have often seen *Maister*, and *Maistress*, in my little collection. Bishop Hall will furnish the best apology, for all of us, when he says; “It is no shame, not, to know all things;” “but it is a just shame to over-reach in any thing (p).”

But, our candid critic continues to talk about uniform orthography, in *an age, which heard of none*. He says, “the omission of the letter *r* in *Chamberlayne* is unprecedented (q).” Whoever told him so is not very successful, in searching for precedents.

2d vol. p. 295, there is a Love-letter from John Paston to *Mastresse Annes*. He repeats *Mastresse* six times: But he never calls her *Meistresse* in the ungallant orthography of our Waldrons, and Malones. I observe from collation, that Mr. Malone does not fairly print Elizabeth's letter to Sydney [papers, 6-7-8] as it is in the book, which he quoted for the spelling of *Maistres*.

(p) Works, 1634, p. 13.

(q) Inquiry 69-70: Yet, see Lord Burghley's letter of the 22d July 1577, to Lord Shrewsbury, in Lodge's Ill. vol. ii. 159:—“This morning, the 23, I received your L. of the 21, being here at on[e] Mr Chamb-le's near Caxton.”—Lord Burghley frequently used the figure of *syncope*, which, indeed, was often practised in that age.

He

He answers, cogently; “ If the Queen had
 “ chosen to omit any letter in that word, it
 “ would have been the *m*.” No: The snar-
 ling letter *r* was the rough letter, that the
 “ accomplished Elizabeth” would naturally
 omit, when she wished to write, in her best
 manner: Writing an epistle to a poet, who
 had gratified her passion, she, who was mis-
 tress of eight languages, chose to *Italianize*
 her phrase, according to the fashion of her
 court; so, she wrote *Chambelayne*, in order to
 approach, as near as the idiom of her own
 tongue would allow, to the Italian *Cambellano*,
 and the French *Chambellan* (*r*): It was upon
 this principle, that she omitted the *gh* in
bighest, and gave such a variety of spelling to
 (*s*) *sovereign*, whatever he may think of the
 spelling of that period of her reign.

Yet, is it more material, he says, to advert
 to *Londonne*; thinking *London*, “ lighter in
 “ the (*t*) mouth;” and finding “ no example
 “ of such orthography.” They “ who make
 “ searches into antiquity,” says (*u*) Howell,
 “ may be said to pass often through many

(*r*) See Skinner, 1671, in Vo.—Chamberlain.

(*s*) Inquiry, 113-14.

(*t*) Inquiry, 70.

(*u*) In the advertisement to his LONDINOPOLIS.

“dark lobbies, and dusky places, before they
 “come to *aula lucis*, the great hall of light.”
 Our celebrated Londinopolis was, in the time,
 and talk of Tacitus, *Londinum copia negotia-*
torum. Our British ancestors called it, signifi-
 cantly, (v) *Llongdin*, *Lhong-porth*, or port of
 ships. Our Saxon fathers wrote it (w) *Lun-*
den-byrig, *Lunden-bury*, *Lunden-ceaster*, and
Lunden-burgh (x). Our critical inquirer, ne-
 vertheless, passes over those varieties of our
ancestors, to get at *London*, the unmeaning
 corruption of modern times. But, Elizabeth,
 who was vain of her British ancestry, and am-
 bitious of learning, as Mr. Malone is studious
 to tell, seized the occasion of inditing a re-
 munerative epistle to a poet, to display her
archæology, by writing *Londonne*, a more so-
 norous name than *London*. She found, in the
 Saxon Chronicle, which she, no doubt, read,
 the archetype of her spelling, in *Lundene*,
Lundune, and *Londone* (y). In the course of
 his

(v) Strype's *Stow*, vol. i. p. 5—8; Holland's *Camden*,
 1637. p. 421.

(w) *Saxon Chron.* edit. Gibson, p. 96-97.

(x) Somner, in *Vo.*

(y) See Gibson's *Nominum Locorum*, in *Vo.* *Lundene*.
 As Mr. Malone insists, positively, that Elizabeth usually
 read the books of the privy council; I may reasonably
 argue,

his researches, our diligent inquirer has, neither met with any of those modes of spelling *Londinopolis*, nor has he seen it, in any other than the modern form of *London* (z): And, in conformity to his usual logic, he thence infers, that its orthography never existed in any other form. I have, however, shewn, from *the fact*, the fallacy of this argument. He talked, in the same manner, of Hamp- town Court, till accident threw in his way a solitary (a) instance, which might have con-
vinced

argue, on the authority of Ascham, her *Scolemaster*, that she may have perused that delectable book, the Saxon Chronicle. *Londinopolis* is *Lundene* in the map, which is prefixed to Gibson's edition of the Saxon chronicle.

(z) We may, therefore, suppose, that he has never inspected Queen Elizabeth's *Progresses*, as they have been published by the praise-worthy Mr. Nichols: For, he would have seen, in the *Proclamation against the Queen of Scots*, 1586, [vol. ii. p. 231.] the following passage, which must be admitted to be a decisive authority: "With loud voyce
"solemnely proclaymed by the Serjeant at Armes of the
"same citty, in foure severall places; to wit, at the Crosse
"in Cheape, at the end of Chauncery-lane in Fleete-street,
"overagainst the Temple, at Leadenhall corner, and at
"St. Magnus corner, neere LONDONNE bridge."

(a) Inquiry, 70-71, *Hampdown Court*, written by a Clerk. The document in Forbes's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 109, is a letter from Elizabeth to Sir Adrian Ponynings; and for aught that appears was written, with her usual industry, in

vinced him of the futility of his own reasoning, and the sophistry of his own system. But, he is in constant habits of retraction: and he may perhaps find other *solitary* instances, which may convince him, that he ought to be less positive in his assertion, and more consecutive in his argument.

Yet; he is resolved to retract no more: He is determined to be doubly positive in his assertions, and four-fold feeble in his proofs. “All former MISNOMERS, are trivial, says he, compared with her [Elizabeth’s] not knowing the true orthography of the name of Leycester, for which we have *Leycesterre*. Her uniform attachment to that nobleman

her own hand; but not by a clerk, for which assertion, there is no evidence: If the document in the Paper Office be a draught, it is most probably in Burghley’s hand, who, when secretary of state, was generally her draughts-man. In this strain of sophistry, our inquirer goes on to remark, that this solitary instance “probably gave rise to the spelling adopted in this forged letter.” [Inquiry, 71.] But, for this assumption, there is not the least proof; and it is scarcely consistent with probability. The name is *Hamton* in the Saxon Chronicle; and in Huntingdon’s History *Hamtune*. [Gibson’s edit. nom. Loc. in Vo. *Hamton*.] The spelling, of course, in Elizabeth’s epistle—*Hamptown*, is more analogical than *Hampton*. [See Johnson in Vo. *Town*; *tun*, Saxon; *tuyn*, Dutch.] In the map of Middlesex, 1593, John Norden has *Hampton*, and *Hamton-court*; so little attention was there, in those days, to analogical accuracy!

“ is

“ is well known ; probably, scarce a day passed, without her seeing his name, uniformly written, as he always wrote it, LEYCESTER (*b*).” Strange ! then, that Elizabeth did not know how to spell the name of her favourite, Leycester. It is stranger still, that a critic, of so much acumen as Mr. Malone, should not know, that there was no attention to such matters, in an age of unsystematic spelling. Was not BURGHLEY another name for learning, discretion, and diligence ? Did not he daily sign dispatches, on the same paper, with Leicester (*c*) ? And yet, Burleigh spelt the favourite’s name Lecester (*d*). The Earls of Derby, and Shrewsbury, wrote to the chancellor, and the treasurer, two days after the death of Leicester, a letter of condolence on the death of their noble *frende the Erle of Leicester* ; and to offer their services to the

(*b*) Inquiry, 72 : Whether the text of *The Miscellaneous Papers* has Leycesterre, or Leiscesterre, is somewhat doubtful.

(*c*) See a very short letter from Leycester, and Cecil, to Lord Shrewsbury, in Lodge’s II. vol. ii. p. 20 ; and, though they both had frequent letters from Lord *Shrewsbury* ; yet, they addressed him by the name of *Shrovesbury* : And Burghley is so little uniform in spelling the name of a nobleman, with whom he was familiar, that he calls him Shrowsbury. [lb. 164.]

(*d*) lb. 164.

Queen.

Queen (*e*). Mr. Secretary Walsyngham preferred *Leicester* to *Leycester* (*f*): And the Lord Buckhurst followed his example (*g*). Elizabeth calls him sometimes *Leycester*, and also “our cosin, the Earl of *Leicester* (*b*):” So little consistency had Bess in her spelling, of her *coosin*’s names, that she wrote *Shrewsbury*, and *Shrewesbury*, in the same (*i*) epistle; omitting, by *syncope*, the *e* in the first, as if to protest against the theory of our pertinacious critic.

But, the scepticism of the public accuser is not to be shaken. From having just thrown his eyes on the books of the privy council,

(*e*) The Bishop of Carlisle also called him *Leicester*. [Ib. 172.] In the map of Westminster, John Norden has *Leycester-howse*; in the map of London, *Leicester-howse*.

(*f*) Cabala, part 2d. p. 49.

(*g*) Ib. 44-5.

(*b*) Ib. 26. Mr. Malone is positive, that the favourite “always wrote it *Leycester*.” [Inquiry, 72.] Yet, see a genuine letter of Leicester’s, in his *Life*, 1727, appendix No. 6; wherein he signed “Rob. *Leicester*;” And see Peck’s *Desiderata*, 104, -5-6-11-12-13-14; wherein he signed R. *Leicester*, half a dozen times; and often *Ro. Leicester*. [Ib. 97 — 104-5.] There are, in Peck’s *DESIDERATA*, several of Leicester’s letters, which prove, that Leicester had not any uniformity in his signature, either in his title, or baptismal name.

(*i*) Lodge II. vol. ii. 82.

on some cloudy day, he grows firmer in his faith: In those curious, and instructive, *records*, he finds, with sharper sight than others, what no other peruser had ever found in them: “For,” he says, “the Queen, it is *well known*, “*constantly* attended the sittings of her privy council,” “and took so active a part at what was doing, that we may be sure she perused the register of each day’s proceedings; which she could not look at without the name of Leycester almost constantly presenting itself to her, while he was in England (a list of the councillors present being always set down) (*k*).” — Now, I join issue with the public accuser on his several assertions:—Whoever has perused the council registers of the Queen’s reign *well knows*, that she did NOT *constantly* attend the sittings of her privy council. The record, containing *the presence, or specification of the counsellors present*, contradicts the *averment* of the public accuser, which he, as a *lawyer*, ought not to have made. I will not quote the registers generally, in confutation of his *confidence*; because *artifice* deals in *generals*: But, I quote

(*k*) Inquiry, 72-3;—which I have printed, exactly, as the passage is in the book,

the registers of *the presence*, specifically, in order to prove, that she was not present, on the 11th of June 1586, at Greenwich; on the 10th, at the Star-chamber; on the 12th, at Greenwich; on the 17th of July, at Richmond; on the 26th of August, at Windsor: Nor, was she present on the 21st of November 1587, at Ely-house, in Holborn; nor, on the 23d, at the lord treasurer's, in Covent-garden; nor at Ely-house, on the 28th; nor, at Somerset-house, on the 10th of December; nor, at Greenwich, on the 24th: Nor, was she present, at the Star-chamber, on the 6th of February 1588; nor, at Greenwich, on the 12th of April; *nor at Hackney, on the 19th*, when the Lord of Leycesterre was present; nor, at Greenwich, on the 21st of April 1588 (1). And, these specifications are alone sufficient to show the prudence of the law of England, which, contrary to the practice of

(1) The registers, No. 6, and 7, comprehending the years 1585-6-7-8, demonstrate, that the Queen did not *constantly attend*; that the councils did not meet *daily*, as the inquirer asserts;—[Inquiry, 92] And that the number of privy counsellors, in her reign, was *eighteen*, and *twenty-one*, instead of *ten* or *twelve*, as he avers, in the same page: And, I have gone over the registers thus minutely; in order to show the boldness of the public accuser, in quoting the books of the privy council, for what they do not contain.

the

the public accuser, will not allow any *averment* against a *record*.

Yet, in opposition to both *law*, and *logic*, he continues his *averments*. "We may be sure," he says, "the Queen perused *the register* of each day's proceedings (*m*)."
Nay; Ascham, the *scolemaster* of Elizabeth, gives a very different account of her *daily* studies. He calls out shame upon the *yonge gentlemen* of England, who did not "bestow so many houres
" dayly, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning, as dothe the Queene's
" Majestie herself:" And he adds, "yea, she
" readeth more Greeke every day, than some
" prebendarie of this church doth read *Latin*
" in a whole weeke (*n*)."
Now, I leave it to the judgment of every discreet person, whether the *scolemaster* of Elizabeth, or the public accuser, could best know, and most truly tell, what Elizabeth daily perused; whether the Greek classics, or the council-registers. But, I will admit, for the purpose of argument, that she did peruse the registers; which, says (*o*) he, "She could not look at without the name
" of Leycester almost constantly presenting

(*m*) Inquiry, 73.

(*n*) The Scolemaster, 1571, p. 21.

(*o*) Inquiry, 73.

“itself to her.” She saw, then, on the register of the 1st of April 1587, *Leycestre*, and *Leicester* (*p*): So that, from a careful perusal of the council-registers, she might have learnt to spell the name of her favourite in *six* different forms; since it is found there, in *six distinct varieties*. “Now, if you can blush, and cry guilty, cardinal, you’ll shew a little honesty!”

But, the public accuser goes on, coolly, to (*q*) discuss, whether Elizabeth could have seen, either in the council-registers, or in printed books, the word *compliment*, which was *not* known, in *that age*, in the modern sense. He certainly shews great reading, in

(*p*) The register, No. 7, p. 311; and on p. 328, *Leycestre*; and p. 337, the name is spelt *Leicester*, *Leicestre*; on p. 340, the name is spelt *Leicestre*: on the 23d of November, she saw *Leicester*, and *Leicestre*, *Leyceffer*, and *Leyceltre*: And, in the 5th register, p. 423, she might have seen *Leycestor*.—He is named, by a document of the 20 Elizabeth, in the paper office, the Earl of *Lester*, master of the horse: And he is called *Lecester*, in Nichols’s *Progresses*, vol. i. p. 58; and in Peck’s *Desiderata*, 118:—Upon the whole, I have shewn *eight* varieties, in spelling the name of *Leicester*, which Elizabeth both may have seen, and might have copied.

(*q*) Inquiry, 76-8.

many (r) dictionaries; in order to prove, that the Queen could neither *compliment* herself, nor be *complimented* by men of compliments. Strange! that for such a purpose, he would ransack the storehouses of learning, rather than look into the fashions of life. He might have found an affecting letter to the Earl of Southampton, from the Earl of Effex, *when he was under sentence of (s) death*, which had saved himself much trouble, and the reflections of his readers:—"My Lord; as neither nature, nor
 " custom, ever made me a man of *compli-*
 " *ments*; so now I shall have less will than
 " heretofore to use such ceremonies, when I
 " have left to *Martha* to be *solicita circa*
 " *multa*, and believe with Mary, that *unum*
 " *sufficit*: But, it is no *compliment*, or cere-
 " mony, but a real and necessary duty, that
 " one friend owes to another in absence, and
 " especially at their leave taking." We per-
 ceive, then, though the scepticism of our critic

(r) In Edward Philips [Phillips] *New World of Words*, which, he thinks, first appeared in 1659, [1658] we have compliment in its original, and secondary sense. [Inquiry, p. 78.] He knows not, he says, when the first edition of Coles's *English Dictionary* was published. [Ib. 81.] The title-page of my copy shows it to have been published, in 1676; as his *Latin Dictionary* was first printed, in 1677.

(s) Howard's Col. p. 52.

cannot

cannot see it, how common the word was, in that age. Shakspeare has the very expression of Essex, "*A man of compliments (t).*" "He observed few *compliments*, in matters of arms," says Sydney, at an earlier period. Yet, the public accuser can scarcely be persuaded, that the substantive compliment was used in Elizabeth's reign (*u*): But, he is positive, that the verb *to compliment* did not then exist. Hamlet, however, when the players came to entertain him, said; "Gentlemen, you are welcome to Elfinoor; your hands: come, then; the appurtenance of welcome is fashion, and ceremony: let me *compliment* with you in this garbe (*v*)."
Mr. Malone, indeed, has displaced *compliment*, and inserted *comply*, in its (*w*) room, though, with what propriety, I

(*t*) Love's Labour Lost, act 1, s. 1; as Mr. Malone allows: And see Ayscough's Index in *Vo. Compliments*, how frequently Shakspeare has the word, and has it oftener than the Index shows; as he also has the adjective *complimental*, which is *coofyn* to the verb.

(*u*) The English ambassador, Sir Henry Neville, wrote from Paris, on the 20th of February $\frac{15}{16}$ $\frac{99}{100}$, to Mr. Secretary Cecil: "I went to *complementise* with the extraordinary ambassador of Venice:—our speech was little besides *compliments*:—We parted with kind *compliments*." [Winwood's Mem. vol. i. p. 154.]

(*v*) Hanmer's Edit. 1745. vol. vi. p. 360.

(*w*) Mal. Shak. vol. ix. p. 269.

will not inquire. I will now produce an authority, which the public accuser cannot so readily displace, nor easily dispute. Among *the instructions*, which Lord Burghley left to his son, Robert Cecil, there is the following precept: "Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often with many, yet small gifts, and of little charge (x)." Now, here is *the verb* to compliment, expressly used by Lord Burghley, who perfectly knew what he wrote, both as to sentiment, and style. But, whether Marston, the satirist, knew his own meaning, in the following lines, I pretend not to divine:—

"But, now this jugler, with the worlds consent,
 "Hath halfe his soul; the other, *compliment*,
 "Mad world the whilst. But, I forget me, I,
 "I am seduced with this poesie (y)."

Without pretending to know, whether Marston intended, in this *poesie*, to use *compliment*,

(x) Peck's *Desiderata*, vol. i. p. 49. Sir George Buc has the following expressions, in his *Dedication* of the *Treatise*, on *The Third University*, to Sir Edward Coke, dated the 12th of August, 1612: "And albeit I doe not (in *complimenting* manner) make daily profession of this my obligation, as many use to do; yet, &c. [Howe's Chronicle, 1065.] Here is the *participle* of the verb *to compliment*."

(y) Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, Sig. H 2:—
Stultorum plena sunt omnia.

as a substantive, or a verb, I will only add, for the sake of those, who are curious in tracing the ramifications of our language, as it *buds*, *blossomes*, and *fades*, that there was published, before *the Restoration*, the *Art of* (z) *Complimenting*; an art, which was sufficiently known, and often practised, during Elizabeth's reign.

From a disquisition on compliments, it was easy to diverge to the epithet, *prettye*. The usage of the times did not allow Elizabeth, as the public accuser pretends, to compliment the *prettye verses* of Shakspeare. Skelton had shewn her father how a *parrot* could be (a) praised; using the very epithet:

“Parrot is a goodly byrd, a *pretty* popagey:

“Hagh, ha, ha; parrot, ye can laugh *pretyly*.”

A^c ham put the epithet, no doubt, into “the ynkhorn” of his “Mayden” Scholar: For, he indites of “Men in Italy, who were so unnatural, as to hate *prettie* yong vir-

(z) See *Wit's Interpreter*, the 3d edit. 1671. “Prefixed is a figure of Shakspeare,” which emulates the “*Chandos* canvas,” for its great likeness of the gentle original. James Shirley published, in 1631, a comedy, entitled, “*The School of Compliments*,” which was republished, with his plays, in 1653.

(a) “Bokes of Skelton, poet laureat:” *Speak parrot, &c.* Imprinted by Abraham Weale, without the year.

“ginnes (*b*).” And, Shakspeare himself has the word, in the sonnets, which he sent to Elizabeth, by the Lord Chamberlayne :

“ Looking with *pretty* ruth upon my pain (*c*).”

Our great dramatist brought upon *the boards* a “ wench of *excellent* discourse, *pretty*, and “ *witty* (*d*).” Yet, our sceptical critic doubts, “ whether the epithet *pretty* was then applied to *written* compositions (*e*).” Marston would have removed his doubts, had he looked into the satirist’s “ Scourge of Villanie :” —

“ Whatfoe’re he *viewes*, thats *prety*, *prety* good,

“ That epithete hath not that *sprightly* blood.”

(*b*) Scholemafter, 1571, p. 29.—In the *Phœnix Nest*, imprinted by Jackson, in 1593, p. 59, Thomas Lodge has the following couplet :

“ For pittie *pretie* eies surcease,

“ To give me warre, and grant me peace.”

In a comedy, which was written about the year 1602, and entitled “ The Return from Parnassus,” *Furor Poeticus* cries out: “ Come *pretty* short nos’d nymph; O sweet “ *Thalia*, I do kifs thy foot.”—*Furor* immediately adds:

“ He is a *pretty* inventor of slight prose;

“ But, there’s no spirit in his grov’ling speech.”

(*c*) Mal. Sup. vol. i. p. 690; sonnet 132.

(*d*) Comedy of Errors, a. 3, f. 1.

(*e*) Inquiry, 75.

Marston, descending from his general topic, addressed a satire, "*Ad Rithmum* :—

"Come *pretty* pleasing symphonie of word (*f*)."

Now, the *verse* of Marston was a written composition (*g*). But, our sceptical critic might have completely cleared up his most sceptical doubts, by reading any page of WEBBE'S *Discourse of English Poetry*, which was printed, in 1586. Treating of the different species of *poesie*, *Webbe* says, "the third kind is a *pretty* round "*verse*." He subjoins; "Behold the *pretty* "*pastoral* contentions of Virgil in the third "*ægloge*." To this he adds, that Abraham Fleming has many *pretty poesies* [poems] of his own. We here see, that *Webbe* decisively applies the epithet *pretty* to written compositions, as Elizabeth applied the same epithet

(*f*) Three Bookes of Satyres: Printed by J. R. Anno Dom. 1599, Sig^r. D.

"Be not so feareful (*pretty* soules) to meete,

"As *Flaccus* is the sergeant's face to greet."

(*g*) See the Dedication of Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, where, in speaking of writers, he says, "*Boccace* is "*prettie hard*, yet, understood: And our William Thomas "*hath done prettilie*."—William Thomas had published "*The Italian Grammar and Dictionary*." [Herbert, 875.] —On the margin of the translation of Herodotus, imprinted by John Day, in 1583, fol. 21, b, there is the following note: "*A Pretty Discourse*; shewing the means how Cræsus and Astyages came to be of a kinne."

to the pretty verses of Shakspeare. During that age, it became proverbial to say, "Every thing is *pretty*, when it is *little*." John Taylor, the water-poet, wrote an *epigram*, upon the proverb:

"There is a *saying* old, but not so wittie,

"That when a thing is little, it is *pretty*:"

"This doating age of our's it finely fits;

"Where many men, thought wise, have *pretty* wits(*b*)."

But, whatever *doubts* our sceptical critic may have about the epithet *pretty*, he has none about the impropriety of the word *ourselfe*, as an *unity*: He has never found it in any manuscript of that age, written as *one* word. In the copious volume of our language, he could not have found a word more variously joined, and disjoined, than the pronoun *self* (*i*). It was from Elizabeth herself, that he learned to make a disjunctive of this copulative, *self*. When the Queen thanked the Earl, and Countess of Shrewsbury for their

(*b*) Works, 1630, p. 264, Taylor was born in 1584; and was, of course, the contemporary of Shakspeare, though twenty years younger: The waterman must have often *sculled* Shakspeare, who is said to have lived on *The Bank-side*: They must have chopp'd verses together. If the conversations of the greatest dramatist, with the greatest water-poet, could be retrieved, what a prodigious discovery it would be: Let us not despair! Shakspeare has the same play on *pretty* and *little*, in *Love's Labour Lost*.

(*i*) See Johnson, in *Vo. self*.

rare present to her paramour, Leicester, she (*k*) wrote; “in how thauckful sorte we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him but to *o^r owne self*, reputing him as *another our self*.” We herein see, indeed, how Elizabeth could separate, and conjoin, her dearest object. But, our inquirer ought to have gone back, to her grandfather’s time, for a genuine specimen of the unity of the word *self*. Lord Bacon (*l*) says, that the instructions, which Henry 7th gave to his ambassadors, when he sent them to woo the young Queen of Naples, were *exquisitely* penned. Here they are (*m*): “Instruccionns geven by the Kinges Highnesse to his trusty and well beloved servauntes Franceys Marsyn, James Baybroke, and John Stile, shewing how they shall order *theymsel* when they shall come to the presence of the old Quene of Naples and the young Quene hir doughter.” The answers are still more *exquisitely* penned. A short example will prove several points: “As we be informyd that the said quynes have their logeynges *everyche* of theym se-

(*k*) Lodge, II. vol. ii. 155. (*l*) History of Henry 7.

(*m*) The instructions of Henry 7th to his ambassadors were printed for Becket and De Hondt, in 1761.

“veral by *theymselſe* and *everyche* of theyme
 “have their ſervantes men women and ſclavis
 “by *theym ſelſe* not w^t ſtondeyng the ſaid
 “quynes do kepe their aſtates & howſe
 “holdys bothe jointly together as *oon* houſe-
 “hold.”—And, Henry 8th did not diſparage
 the ſtyle of his father (n). This *exquiſite*
 writing had not become quite unfashionable
 in Elizabeth’s days. In her aforeſaid letter
 of thanks to Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, ſhe
 tells them; “Ye might think *yourſelſe* moſt
 “unhappye yf yae ſrved [here is a fine ſpe-
 “cimen of the *ſyncope*] ſuch a prince as
 “ſhould not be as readye gratyouſlie to con-
 “ſider of yt or thankfullie to acknowledge
 “the ſame.” *Self*, at that reſplendent pe-
 riod, was much uſed in compoſition; and, by
 Shakspeare, often very harſhly, as Johnſon has
 well exemplified (o). Yet, Spenſer has paint-

(n) In Henry 8th. *Anſwere unto a certayne* letter of
 Martyn Luther;—“which boke, ſaith the royal author, we
 “regardyng (as it was worthy) cōtempned and nat wolde
 “vouche ſafe any thing to reply reputyng *ourſelſe* in
 “Chriſt’s cauſe, (nat to good with a right meane man to rea-
 “ſon or cōtrary) but nothing metely fruteleſſe with a leude
 “Frere to rayle.” [Herbert’s Printers, vol. i. p. 298.]

(o) Johnſon, in *Vo. Self*.

ed *self*, so strikingly, as to furnish our artist with a fine subject:

“ Before the door, sat *selfe*-consuming care,

“ Day and night, keeping wary watch, and ward.”

Recollecting Shakspeare's wench of *excellent discourse*, our sceptical critic only *hesitates dislike* to the *excellence* of Shakspeare's verses, as expressed by Elizabeth. He calls on the believers, to produce an example of the word *excellence* being applied, in that age, to written compositions: He knows of no such example (*p*). Had he looked into the *Concordance*, he would have found in the English Bible, the word *excellence* applied to almost every thing in art, or nature, written and unwritten (*q*).

He doth not, however, *hesitate dislike* to the word *amuse*: He was quite scandalized, that Elizabeth, who understood eight languages, should use the word *amuze*, which, in its present sense, is perfectly modern (*r*). He runs over the beadroll of dictionaries; of Barrett, and Bullokar, Cawdrey, Cockeram, and Kersey,

(*p*) Inquiry, 79.

(*q*) See the Colophon of *The history Sege and destruction of TROYE*, printed by Pynson in 1513:

“ Go lytell hoke (and put the in the grace

“ Of hym that is) moſte of *excellence*.”

(*r*) Inquiry, 81.

Sherwood, and Philips [Phillips]; in order to make out his point. Coles is the first lexicographer, who furnished him with an example of "*amuse*" to put [one] "in a dump," though he knows not when Coles first published his English Dictionary (*s*). Why will our critic make a parade with his lexicographers, without looking into the very dictionary, which would have shown him *amuse* in the present sense. In Howel's *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, an English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary, which he compiled, before the Restoration, and published in (*t*) 1660, our inquirer would have found *to amuse, amused, an amuser, an amusement*. It were worthy of his philological diligence to inquire, whether language existed before dictionaries; or dictionaries before language. His inquiries would probably find that, though the English language had been spoken, and written, for ages, yet, that the origin of English dictionaries, and the birth of Elizabeth, have nearly the same

(*s*) It was first published, in 1676.

(*t*) This large *peece of Industry*, was dedicated by Howel to Charles 2d, in May 1660, "when the dismal clowd, which had put a sea of separation between the king and his subjects, was scattered in less than *twelve hours*, to the wonderment of mankind."

epoch.

epoch (*u*). As amusements had long existed in England; so the word, in its various forms, existed there, before Howell placed them in his alphabet. Cotgrave, as quoted by Mr. Malone, certainly used the word *amuse*, in 1611. If it existed in our language before Howell used it; may not the word have also existed in it, before it was written by Cotgrave? Elizabeth, and Shakspeare, were not only amused themselves, but were the cause of amusement in others, before Cotgrave, “the pioneer of literature, was driven by the fear of evil, to labour at one of the lower employments of life.”

Yet, is it one of the fallacies, which abound in *The Inquiry*, to suppose, that a word does not exist in our language, because the critic cannot find it in his library. If a dictionary be a *selection*, rather than a *collection*, of the words in our *maternall Englyshe*; a dictionary cannot afford a decisive proof of the non-existence of a word, in some other book,

(*u*) In fact, there did not exist, at the birth of Elizabeth, any dictionary of “oure maternall Englyshe tongue:” as may be inferred from the silence of Herbert, though there doubtless were vocabularies of English and Latin: The *Promptorius Puerorum*, printed by Pynson, in 1499, was the first *English*, and Latin, dictionary. Herbert, vol. i. p. 248.

which

which the lexicographer may never have read. And it is a fallacy, which, in the same manner, contaminates every page of the Inquiry, to suppose, that a word was, for the first time, introduced into our speech, when it was first arranged in our dictionaries; as if lexicography were coeval with our language. Such is the absurdity of *negative* arguments, which are, as unfounded in *fact*, as they are fallacious in *reasoning*. A critic must be weak, indeed, who argues, that a word does not exist; because he cannot find it: Still weaker must the critic be to insist, that a book, consisting of many words, does not exist on earth; because he cannot find it in his library. Every collector of curious specimens of the typographic art is ambitious of possessing some black-letter book, which Ames had never seen, nor Herbert ever heard of. It is not, then, rational, for a commentator on Shakspeare to insist, that a writing of Shakspeare does not exist; because it is not in his collection (*v*). We may see this position exemplified

(*v*) I happen to possess, among my few books, Shakspeare's *VENUS and ADONIS*, which was printed, in 1627; at Edinburgh, by John Wreiton, and "to bee sold in his shop a little beneath the Salt Trone:" Yet, this rare
book

emplified in *the barrenness* of Capell's *Shakspeariana*, after all his research. If a book may be found in some library, though it be not in every library, may not a word be discovered by the thorough search of a more penetrating eye, although it may have escaped the superficial inspection of a sceptical inquirer? Indeed, as our great lexicographer has observed, *it is hard to keep a busy eye steadily fixed upon evanescent atoms, or a discursive mind upon evanescent truth.*

Thus much for the language of Elizabeth's epistle to Shakspeare. We are now to examine the *superscription*; for what it is, and for what it is not (*w*). The particularity "*For Master William Shakspeare at the Globe by Thames,*" now rouses scepticism from his apathy. His worship would have learned, from a little inquiry, that it was the fashion of the age, and of Elizabeth, to be very circumstantial in her superscriptions: Her famous letter of thanks, which has supplied so many instructive notices, she directed "*To our right trustie, and right wel-belovid Cousin and Counsellor*

book is not mentioned by Mr. Malone, among the editions of Shakspeare's poems; because he supposed, no doubt, that it did not exist.

(*w*) Inquiry, 83.

"Th'

“Th’ Erle of Shrewsbury, and to o’. right
 “dere and right wel-beloved Cousin the
 “Countesse, *his Wyfe* (x).” Knowing, that
 there was then only one theatre of that name,
 she was strictly grammatical, in directing for
 a player, and writer of plays, at *the Globe*;
 which, standing on *The Bankside*, was fitly
 described as *bye Thames* (y). This *mayden*
 scholar would have incurred the censure of
 Ascham, though at the same time ensured the
 praise of Mr. Malone, if she had directed her
 own messenger, whoever he were, the master
 of her posts, or the master of her revels, “to
 “make hast, hast, post hast, for thy lif (z).”

After clearing from his way this trash of
 words, our inquirer is ready to lay a strong
 foundation of facts. “The Globe Theatre,”

(x) Lodge’s *Illust.* vol. ii. p. 155: And see the very particular superscriptions of Burghley, every where, in the same book.

(y) See Skinner in *Vo. By* from the Anglo Saxon *Bi, Big; Prope, fuxta*: And hence, the *Agnomen*, or By-name. See also Johnson in *Vo. By*; Beside; near to; noting proximity of place: The Globe was certainly within eighty paces of the river, in that part, which has been greatly encroached on by embankment, during the last two centuries.

(z) See our inquirer’s *amplifications* in p. 83-4; as if a controvertist, who was coming forward with an *anachronism*, wanted such *verbosity*.

says

says he, “ was not built at the *time* to which “ this letter must be referred (a).” This letter, then, was either, written before the 4th of September 1588 ; or, it was never written : On that day, the Earl of Leicester, who was invited to the play, at Hampton-court, died, at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, on his way to Kenelworth (b). If the Globe theatre were not built till after the 4th of September 1588, the anachronism would certainly prove the spuriousness of Elizabeth’s epistle. Yet, is it the business of the public accuser to make out his point from facts, without trusting to negative reasonings. Neither Aggas’s map of London, which is supposed to have been made, in 1568 ; nor Vertue’s engraving of a map of London, in 1560 ; nor Braun’s map, in 1573 ; exhibit, says he, the least trace of any playhouse (c).

(a) Inquiry, 84.

(b) Dugdale’s Warwick, p. 359 ; the Life of Leicester, 1727, p. 281 :—There is a letter, which has been already quoted, in Lodge’s II. vol. ii. p. 377-8, dated on the 6th of September, 1588, at Sheffield Lodge, in Yorkshire, *two days after the death* of Leicester, from the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby ; offering their condolence, and services : This early date, after his decease, at so great a distance, proves how speedily the great men of that reign had their information of important events.

(c) Inquiry, 84.

As these witnessess say nothing, they prove nothing. His next witness will, doubtless, be more loquacious, and conclusive. Chytræus, a German, visited London, in 1579; and, “if
 “ any such building then existed, in South-
 “ wark, he, without doubt, would have al-
 “ luded to it (*d*).” Chytræus, then, proves as little, as the former witnessess (*e*). The public accuser, indeed, admits, that there were plays exhibited in Southwark, as early as 1579; but he denies, “that there was any regular
 “ theatre, on the Bankside, expressly, built
 “ for scenick exhibitions (*f*):” Neither the admitting, nor the denying, here, prove any thing. Now, the council-registers evince, that there were, before the year 1581, “Cer-
 “ tain companies of players heretofore using
 “ their common exercise, of playing within
 “ and about the city of London, who were

(*d*) Inquiry, 85.

(*e*) The council-register of the 10th November 1578, proves, “that there were certain players, within the Bo-
 “ rough of Southwark, and other places near adjoining, in
 “ that part of Surrey,” at, and before, that epoch, what-
 ever Chytræus may have not seen.

(*f*) Id: But the council-register of date the 11th of May 1586 proves, that there was then a regular playhouse, in St. Saviour’s parish, which was emphatically called,
 “*The Theatre*,” by the record.

“ only

“ only brought up, from their youth, in the
 “ practice, and profession, of music, and play-
 “ ing (g).” The fact is, that as early as 1570,
 there were several regular playhouses erected
 in, or about the city of London (b): When
 the playhouses were ordered to be pulled down,
 within the city, in 1580, *the Theatre*, in
 Blackfriars, escaped the fury of the fanatics (i).
 The persecution of the drama, at that epoch,
 within the city, probably drove the players,
 over the Thames, into *The liberty of the Clink*,
 in St. Saviour’s parish. In October 1587, the
 inhabitants of Southwark complained to the
 privy council, that their lordships’ order, for
 restraining plays, on *Sundays*, was not observed
 in Surrey, “ particularly within *the Liberty of*
 “ *the Clink*, and in the parish of St. Sa-
 “ viour’s (k).” Now, from these facts, it is
 inferible, that there was a regular theatre,
 within *The liberty of the Clink*, on *the Bankside*,

(g) Register, 3d December 1581.

(b) Mal. Shak. vol. i. 2d pt. 36; Steevens’s Shak.
 vol. ii. p. 154.

(i) Id: And see Northbrook’s Treatise against Dicing,
 Dancing, Plays, and Enterludes, 1579, which speaks of
 the *Theatre*, and *Curtain*, and other such like places:
 p. 28-29.

(k) Register, 29th October 1587.

which

which is within that *Liberty*: And, Norden's map of London, which was engraved, in 1593; at whatever time the survey may have been made, exhibits *the Playhouse*, on the *Bank-side* (1). But, our inquirer insists, though without authority, "that this was not the *Globe*, but the *Rose* theatre, which was so denominated from *Rose-alley*, near which it stood, as the *Globe* probably derived its name from *Globe-alley* (m)." And he fixes upon the year 1594, as the probable epoch of the building of *the Globe* theatre. He produces a bond, and a contract, to establish his point: But, though they prove something; they do not prove enough; the bond, speak-

(1) Mr. Malone says, generally, in *Southwark*: [Inquiry, 86.]—But, the site of the *Globe* theatre was, and is, called, by the people of the parish, *The Bankside*. See Strype's edition of Stow's London, vol. ii. p. 8.

(m) Inquiry, 86: But, Norden's map, 1593, and Strype, vol. ii. 7, prove clearly, that *Rose-alley*, and *Globe-alley*, did not then exist; and so, these alleys originated from the theatres, and not the theatres from them: On the bank of the river, there was, at that epoch, "a row of tenements;" but behind them, there were gardens, and a park; as Norden's map, and Strype, and the *Parish books* of St. Saviour's, demonstrate.—On the 12th of June 1575, "the Parishioners agreed to deliver to the Queen's barns at Greenwich two loads of first cut hay, thirty-six trusses to the load, and sixty pounds to each truss." [The *Parish books* of that date].

ing, generally, of the performance of certain articles of agreement; and the contract, referring, in 1599, to the *late erected Globe* on *The Banke* (n). The fact is, as I have shown,

(n) Mr. Malone says expressly, “that the Globe theatre was not situated *by Thames*, but in Maiden-lane, a street in Southwark at *some distance from the river*, as is proved by an authentic document in my possession.” [Inquiry, p. 84.] The contract, dated the 8th of January 1599-1600, as expressly refers “to the late erected playhouse, on the BANKE, in the said parish of St. Saviours, called THE GLOBE.” [Mal. Shak. vol. i. part 2d. p. 326, Inquiry, p. 87.] Now, these contradictions, between our inquirer, and his own documents, demonstrate, that his positions must be wrong; and of course, that his point is unsupported by credible proof.—On the contrary; I maintain, that the Globe was situated on *the Bank*, within eighty paces of the river, which has since receded from its former limits; that the Globe stood on the site of John Whatley’s windmill, which is at present used for grinding colours; as I was assured by an intelligent manager of Barclay’s brewhouse, which covers, in its ample range, part of Globe alley; and that Whatley’s windmill stands due south, from the western side of Queenhythe, by the compass, which I set for the express purpose of ascertaining the relative bearing of the windmill to the opposite objects on the Thames: Now, the PLAYHOUSE, on Norden’s map, stands due south of the western side of Queenhythe, or Broken-wharff; so that, as far as the compass can guide us, we have demonstration, that the site of Norden’s playhouse, and of Whatley’s windmill is the same: But, Mr. Malone assures us explicitly, “that *the Rose theatre stood more to the west*,” than Norden’s playhouse;

in the note below, that the public accuser, and his own proofs, contradict each other, while both stand opposed to demonstration. Now, if there be certainty in facts; if there be any demonstration in proofs; it will follow, that he has failed, in establishing his point; and, of consequence, he is unwarranted, in his conclusion:—"Thus we see the Globe
"theatre did not exist at the time to which
"this letter must be referred (o)." On the contrary, Norden's map is evidence, that the Globe was built *before* the year 1593; and the council-register is proof, that it may, probably, have existed, as early as 1586.

The public accuser now goes on, in the same strain of contradiction, and assumption, to compare the anachronism, which he has thus failed to establish, with events, and dates, which cannot be disputed. Leicester, who was to attend Elizabeth to the play at Hampton-court, was in Holland, during the greatest

playhouse; so that, according to his own *shewing*, the Rose theatre, and Norden's playhouse, cannot be the same: And, the council-register of the 11th May 1586 proves, that there was a playhouse, within St. Saviour's parish, which was then, emphatically called *The Theatre*. Howe's Chronicle, p. 1003, asserts, that the theatre, or playhouse, called *the Globe*, was upon the *Bankside*, near London.

(o) Inquiry, 88.

part of the year 1586: He returned to London, on the 23d of November; and went, late at night, to the court, at Richmond: He departed for Holland, on the 25th of June 1587: But, he was recalled on the 9th of November 1587; and he arrived in England, in December, 1587 (*p*). From 1587, he remained at home, till his death, on the 4th of September 1588 (*q*). And, the public accuser professes, “to show *beyond a doubt*, that
 “ the Queen was not at Hampton-court
 “ during the holydays in either of the pe-
 “ riods above mentioned (*r*).”

(*p*) Howe's Chron. p. 743. But, history has not yet fixed the date of that event. Churchyard has, however, in his *Historical Discourse on the Civil Wars in the Netherlands*, 1602, p. 102, given an accurate narrative of Leicester's return, in the following manner: “The 14th of November, re-
 “ turning into Zeland, [from Holland] to visit the cities
 “ there; and so, at Vere, in Zeland, reconciling unto him
 “ certaine captaines of the garrison, in *secret manner*, he
 “ departed thence, the 21st of November; and at length,
 “ taking ship at Flushing the 17 of December anno 1587,
 “ he returned the second and last time into England.”

(*q*) Inquiry, 89: And see Stow, Howe's edition, p. 740—44:—Brook says he died, in 1586. [Catal. of the Succession of Kings, and Nobles, 1619, p. 136.] This is the herald, who was to correct the errors of Camden!

(*r*) Inquiry, 90.

He

He opens his proof with his usual *petitio principii*. After putting it upon others to show, that the Queen was at Hampton-court, during some part of those periods, he produces his first proof. "The regular time," says he, "for the exhibition of plays at court" "was Christmas, Twelftide, Candlemas, and "Shrovetide." He might have more correctly added, *Childermasday, Sundays*, and other days (*s*). Here, then, he fails. He speaks (*t*) next of the inconvenience of the apartments at the Queen's palaces; in order to show the improbability of plays being acted, at Hampton-court: But, the council-registers prove, that there were plays acted there, at Christmas 1575, and at Christmas 1591 (*u*): Now, here, again he fails, in his second proof. He will be more successful, perhaps, in his third proof: "From the beginning of December "1587, to the 8th day of July 1588, she "resided at Greenwich." His position is, as

(*s*) Council-register, 21st February 157 $\frac{3}{4}$, 14th February 1579: and the register, 1575—1579—1581-2—1588—1590-91.

(*t*) Inquiry, 90-1.

(*u*) Registers, 20th January 1576; and 7th March 1592; which contain warrants, for paying the players, who acted at Hampton-court, on those days,

the context evinces, that she resided, continually, during that period, at Greenwich. He ought to have added, what was very material, indeed, for him to conceal, that the court was at HACNEY, on the 16th of April (v) 1588, where Leicester was present. Now, this is a most important absence from Greenwich. It was at this period, if ever, that the Queen, and Leicester, went to the play, at Hampton-court, which is only a short journey from Hacney. And he thus fails in his third proof: and, failing in all his proofs, he has failed in showing, *beyond a doubt*, that her majesty was not at Hampton-court, in any of those periods, when Leicester could have pleased her, by his presence, and Shakspeare amused her, by his acting.

After all those failures, the public accuser comes, by a regular approach, to his *last*, and *fatal* objection to Elizabeth's epistle. He opens the trenches, in his accustomed manner, by begging admission, instead of forcing the place. He is astonished to see the modest, and careless Shakspeare "sedulously docketing

(v) Council-register of that date; and she did not return to Greenwich till the 21st of April; she was also absent, from Greenwich, in February 1588, as appears by the register of the 6th of February.

“ his papers with the punctilious exactness of
 “ a merchant or attorney(*w*).” It is still more
 remarkable, he (*x*) says, that the poet should
 take such care of this gracious epistle; yet, should
 not have preserved the *pretty verses*, which
 gave occasion to it (*y*). Our sceptical critic is
 scandalized, that the Lord Chamberlain should
 have presented the *pretty verses*, instead of
 the master of the revels, or the treasurer of
 the chamber, who were, “ *unquestionably,*”
 the proper persons to convey to players royal
 mandates, and royal bounties; as if the Lord
 Chamberlain, and ladies of the court, had not
 been in the constant practice of presenting
 books to the Queen, and communicating royal
 acknowledgments (*z*). If Churchyard pre-
 sented

(*w*) Inquiry, 97.

(*x*) Id.

(*y*) These verses, we have seen, the poet *did* preserve; and the commentator criticized them, without *recognizing the ætherial guest*.

(*z*) In 1594, the *Gesta Grayorum* were presented before the Queen, who, being pleased with the entertainment, “ willed the *Lord Chamberlain*, that the gentlemen should “ be invited, on the next day, and presented to her: Her “ majesty gave them her hand to kifs, with most gracious “ words of commendation to them particularly, and in ge- “ neral to Gray’s Inn, as an house she was much beholden “ to; for that it did always study for some sports to present

presented his *Conceit* to Elizabeth, in 1592, at Hampton-court; why might not Shakspeare present his *prettye verses* to her, by the Lord Chamberlain's hands: And, if Elizabeth thanked Lambarde, personally, for his printed book; why might she not thank Shakspeare, by an epistle, for his unprinted sonnets? We may perceiv, from her interview with Lambarde, that Elizabeth perfectly understood Shakspeare's *axiom*: "The poorest service is repaid with *thanks*."

The public accuser comes at length to his *last topic*. His fatal objection is not "to the diffimilitude, but the total and intire diffimilitude of every part of the writing of this letter (except the signature) from Elizabeth's genuine hand-writing (a)." His last topic, he proves, exactly, in his former mode,

"unto her." [Nic. Prog. *Gesta Grayorum*, p. 49.] On the 4th of August 1601, William Lambarde presented to Queen Elizabeth, in her privy chamber, at Greenwich, his *Pandecta Rotulorum*, whereof she had given him the charge, on the 21st of January preceding; "Her majestie chearfullie received the same into her hands, saying:—you intended to present this book unto me by the *Countess of Warwick*; but I will none of that; for if any subject of mine do me a service, *I will thankfullie accept it from his own hands*." [Id. sign. G. 41.]

(a) Inquiry, 103.

"From

“ From the examination of various *fac simi-*
 “ *les,*” he (b) says, “ it appears that her
 “ hand-writing gradually enlarged as she ad-
 “ vanced in life ; and that in the year 1587,
 “ or 1588, it was at least a fourth, perhaps a
 “ third, larger than her writing when she
 “ came to the throne.” Is it, then, wonder-
 ful, that he should have found in this epistle,
 which was, no doubt, hastily written, as she
 passed through London, “ no less [fewer]
 “ than six gross errors,” he should have said,
 six *dissimilarities*: The wonder had been, had
 any similarity been found. Who could paral-
 lel Elizabeth, who was so unparallel to herself,
 at different periods of her various life ? I have
 compared the *fac similes* of Elizabeth’s signa-
 ture, which he has taken the trouble to (c)
 engrave, with a *fac-simile* in Lodge’s (d) Illus-
 trations, and with a *fac-simile* of the Queen’s
 signature in Forbes’s (e) state-papers: But,
 they are so dissimilar in the general resem-
 blance, so unlike in the letters, and so different
 in the flourishes, that I could shew six *gross*
errors, in the best of them ; if there could be

(b) Inquiry, 104.

(c) Inquiry, plate 1.

(d) Vol. i. plate 10.

(e) Vol. p. 59.

derived from the labour, any instruction, and amusement, which would repay the trouble of detection. The public accuser asserts, as his concluding proof, what, indeed, is equally unwarranted by *the fact*, as his former assumptions, that “her genuine autographs are *“bolt-upright.(f):”* Of *bolt-uprightness*, however, who can judge, without a *plummet*? But, of contradicting contradictions, there is no end!

I here close my *apology* for the believers, which I submit to this critical court, on this head of the Inquiry. It will be easily recollected, that the *public accuser* undertook, by special investigations, to confute the *general argument* of the *first section*, which concluded so strongly, in their favour. His several objections, I have fully examined. But, I have found, in his assertions, so little reality; in his argument, so little consistence; in his pretences, so little candour; in his jokes, so little

(f) Inquiry, 105. In order to verify the assertion, with regard to the *bolt-uprightness* of Elizabeth's *autographs*, I compared a great number of her signatures, which are preserved in the College of Arms: And, it appeared distinctly to me, that the main stroke of the E was uniformly designed to be upright; but that, generally, the small letters incline to the left, particularly, from the *b* in *Elizabeth*. So that the asserted *uprightness* of the Queen's autograph is not wholly consistent with the real truth.

(g) rifibility; that I flatter myself, he will be allowed *to take nothing by his motion*, although he may be admitted to be *right by chance*, rather than *convincing by argument*.

(g) In the Inquiry, p. 102, Mr. Malone has indeed made *one good joke*, at the expence of the believers: He feigns a committee of the Cross-row, B. C. D. E. O. P. Q. R. who are supposed to be sitting on "*the Miscellaneous Papers*;" and when the *anachronism* of an allusion to balloons, and to the earthquake at Lisbon, was objected, over-ruled the objection; having "unanimously voted it of no weight what-ever." At *the joke*, I am prepared to laugh:—But, I am not prepared, if it were allowable to introduce *fiction* into the detection of *forgery*, to admit the truth of the *anachronism*. There were balloons in the age of Elizabeth, and Shakspeare. For the *word*; see Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, in Vq. *ballone*, a great ball; a *ballone*. For the *thing*; see *A Thousand Notable things of sundrie Sorts*, printed by Roberts, in 1601; book 10, No. 37, "how to make a bladder leap from place to place;" and No. 49, "how to make *an egg ascend into the air*:" Both these tricks were performed, like similar tricks of modern times, by the *rarefaction of air*. For an account of the earthquake at London, and other places, including Lisbon, no doubt, see Spenser's *Three proper Letters*, printed by Bynneman, in 1580, p. 23; wherein may be read "a grave meteorological conference, touching earthquakes."—We may hence observe, how easy it is to supply *ignorance* with *anachronism*, to fill *vacuity* with *wonder*, and to tickle folly with a joke.

— § III. —

LORD SOUTHAMPTON,

AND HIS

CORRESPONDENCE.

In opening the Apology, on this head of the subject, the believers are again led, by the fact, to observe, that the objections, which had been strongly stated, during the first period of disquisition, are either relinquished wholly, or supported feebly, since the publication of the *Miscellaneous Papers*.

To the signature of Lord Southampton, by his *title*, it was objected by those, who pretended to know parliamentary usages, that the practice of the peers, in signing by their titles, without their baptismal names, did not commence, for a century, after the epoch of his correspondence with Shakspeare. The sceptics applauded this objection to Lord Southampton's signature, as a decisive proof of the fiction. On the contrary, the believers heard it, without assenting to the truth of the premises, or the fairness of the deduction; because, recollecting precedents, they knew, that the objection was neither supported by fact, nor justified by custom.

Without

Without referring to feudal times, when men were known by the names of their lands, and barons distinguished themselves by their titles, the practice may be easily traced by precedents, and the custom clearly illustrated by examples, at successive periods of our history. A few instances from the remarkable specimens of signatures in Fenn's Letters, written during the times of our Edwards and Henrys, will throw abundant light on this curious subject; and also prove, that the modern practice had a more early origin, than the objectors supposed. John de Vere, writing to John Paston, in the 38th of Henry 6th, concluded: "Uretyn at Wouenho, the xvii day; The Earl of Oxenford;—Oxenford (*a*)."

We here see, that the baptismal name of this great peer was not prefixed to his signature. John Lord Scales, a nobleman of uncommon worth, concluded his letter to John Paston thus:—"Writen at Midelton the xvi day of Octob'r;—youre frende,—Scales (*b*)."

of

(*a*) Fenn's Let. vol. iii. p. 362.

(*b*) *Ib.* 367. And see autographs of Lord Oxenford, and Lord Scales, in vol. ii. plate i. And see Lord *Hastynge's* signature, in the same manner, in plate iv. and so, of others, in the other plates:—The fact, then, is incontrovertible, as to the

the

of the executors of Sir John Fastolf, writing to the *ryght worcheppful Sere Mayster John Stokes*, a doctor of the civil laws, and an officer of the bishop's court, concluded: "Wretyn
 " in y^r abbey of langeley the viii day of y^e
 " monyth of may, the yeere of our lord
 " m, cccc, lx: youre preest; — abbot of
 " langeley (c)." And, even private gentlemen, in those days, signed their surnames, without their baptismal appellations; as in a letter to Sir Robert Rokysby "be his fervant
 " and Bedman, *Perse* (d): A similar practice continued, through the subsequent (e) reigns, though the custom was not altogether uniform (f). The knowledge of the believers was warranted, then, in rejecting the ignorance of the sceptics, upon a point of archaeology,

the signature of peers, in those times, without their baptismal appellations, or the initial letters of their names, and titles.

(c) *Ib.* 400: and p. 422 for other signatures, in the manner of *anagrams*.

(d) *Ib.* 434; and see the autographs, in the same volume, plate xvii—xviii—xix—xx: And, see a letter, in September 1603, signed *Fowler*, in Lodge's II. vol. iii. p. 169.

(e) See Howard's Collections, 160-61.

(f) See the autographs in Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. plate 5, &c.—And see the autographs in Forbes's state-papers, in the time of Elizabeth.

which

which was so clearly established, and generally known: Yet, says the public accuser, “in the reign of Elizabeth, as your lordship knows, noblemen in their signatures usually prefixed their *Christian name* to their (g) titles;” though his own documents demonstrate a contrary usage.

During the long, and improving, reign of Elizabeth, the practice of the peers, in their signatures, went on progressively, from ancient irregularity, towards modern uniformity. Let us take, as examples, the celebrated favourites of that maiden queen: The earl of Leycester was very various, in his signature: as we may see, often, R. (b) Lecester; Ro. (i) Lecester; Ro. (k) Leycester;—R. Leycester (l). These varieties sufficiently prove, that there is no drawing a true conclusion from a single autograph, in that age. This observation is more strongly exemplified from the still more various practice of Elizabeth’s other favourite: He signed, at times, Effex; R. Effex; Ro.

(g) Inquiry, 184. (b) Peck’s Desid. 112-13+14.

(i] Ib. 100-4-5-6. (k) Ib. 128-132.

(l) Lodge’s Il. vol. ii. p. 286; and Mal. Inquiry, plate ii. which is a different autograph, in some points, from the preceding, in Lodge.

Effex;

Effex; Rob. Effex; and Robert Effex (*m*). Now, the egregious sophistry, of arguing from a single autograph, is apparent from those varieties. If any system could be deduced from such variety, I should conclude, that when he was most gay, he signed *Effex*, and when he was most grave, he subscribed *Robert Effex* (*n*).

The public accuser, however, comforts himself, with (*o*) remarking, that “whatever examples of the modern practice may occasionally be found in ancient times, Henry, Lord Southampton prefixed his *Christian* name to his title; a practice, which seems to have been hereditary in his family; for the autograph of his father—(H. Southampton) is in the Museum.” Strange! That so accurate a logician should continually argue against the

(*m*) See Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 444-5—458—486: Howard’s Collections, 232—521. See the Cabala, p. 213-15, for seven letters to Secretary Davison, signed R. Effex; p. 216, two to the Queen, signed, Ro. Effex; and p. 218, one letter to the Lord Keeper Ellesmere, signed, Effex: and, Birch’s Mem. prove, that he signed his Latin letters, *Effexius*.

(*n*) While he lay, a condemned man, in the Tower, he subscribed *Robert Effex*. [Howard’s Col. 524: Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 486.]

(*o*) Inquiry, 184.

conviction

conviction, which his own documents enforce. His autographs do not prove, that either the father, or the son, *prefixed their christian names to their titles*; since they only prove, that they prefixed the *initial H*:— Now, H might represent Humphry, Hugh, Hubert, Horatio, Herbert, Hamon, Hadrian, Hodge, Hector, Hob, Harry, Hobbinol, Henry, or Hildebrand. Here, then, he fails. But, he is certain of his position, that the father, and the son, *uniformly* subscribed *H. Southampton*. Had he looked into Howard's Collections, he would have seen the subscription of the father, in the modern form, to be *Southampton*, without either his christian name, or the initial of it (*p*). When he was ransacking, unsuccessfully, every place for autographs of Shakspeare's patron, had he thrown his eyes on a *white-letter* publication of the Virginia Company, whereof his lordship was treasurer, he would have beheld the formal subscription of HENRY *Southampton* (*q*). Here, again,

(*p*) See, in p. 226, a letter, dated the 27th of June 1573; now, the autograph, in the Inquiry, is affixed to an epistle, dated July 26, 1572. [Inquiry, 185.]

(*q*) See "His majesties gracious letter to the Earle of
" Southampton, treasurer, and to the Council and Company

again, he fails. The believers knew, from those remarkable examples, that there was no uniformity, in signatures, during those times. His best apology is, while the believers require none, that he was misled by the intemperance of his zeal to reason from a fancied uniformity, which being only a Will-o'-th-wisp, led him headlong into "the great bog of Allen." Here, with Lord Charlemont by his side, he plunges a while. At length, they flounder through, "by producing two letters written by Lord Southampton, *the only letters of his known to be extant (r).*" But, I have produced another letter of Lord Southampton, written on a public occasion, published by authority, and made notorious from its

"of Virginia heere:" Commanding the present setting up of silk works, and planting of vines in Virginia, &c. published by authority: and printed by Kyngston, 1622. Lord Southampton's name is subscribed, in the before mentioned form, of HENRY Southampton, to the letter, which the company in England sent, on that occasion, "To the Governour and Councill of State in Virginia." This pamphlet will now go down the stream of time, borne along it by the names of Southampton, and Shakspeare; and will be remembered, in the annals of that country, "where tobacco loves to grow."

(r) Inquiry, p. 185.

object.

object (*s*). Once more, then, our inquirer fails, egregiously: And, the believers may, at length, retort:—

“ Thyself, from flattering self-conceit defend,

“ Nor, what thou dost not know, to know pretend!”

But, it is self-conceit, flattering self-conceit, which is the bane of all research, and the obstruction to all knowledge. Never was this remark more fully proved, than in the biography of Lord Southampton, which Mr. Malone has several times touched upon; yet has left it, either without fulness, in its facts, or precision, in its notices. It may, therefore, be of use, to run over the life of Shakspeare's patron; in order to elucidate this subject; to point out the mistakes of error; and to establish the certainties, which are often misconceived by fondness, and very often mistated by flattery.

The family of Wryothsley, who were commonly called *Wrythe*, may be found among *the heralds*, in the several reigns, from Edward 4 to Henry (*t*) 8. The grandfather of Shak-

(*s*) See yet another letter of Lord Southampton to Win-wood, dated the 6th August 1613, in Win. Mem. vol. iii. p. 475:

(*t*) See the *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 209.

speare's Southampton rose, from being fauconherald, to be lord chancellor, and an earl, under the capricious Henry viii. Lord Southampton's father was Henry, Earl of Southampton; his mother was Mary, the daughter of Anthony, the first Viscount of Montague: And, he was born, on the 6th of October 1573 (*u*). He had the misfortune to lose his father, on the 4th of October (*v*) 1581; an event, which enabled his mother to marry, ere long, Sir Thomas Heneage; who, as treasurer of the chamber, had much connection with players, and writers of plays. Wheresoever Lord Southampton may have received his earliest learning, he completed his education at Cambridge, and finished his studies at Grey's Inn (*w*).

From

(*u*) Burghley had recorded, in his Diary, that Henry Earl of Southampton, was born in 1573; [Murden, 792,] but Mr. Malone has ascertained, from the escheat rolls of the 24 of Eliz. the day of his birth. [Inquiry, 180.]

(*v*) Mr. Malone says he died in 1583: [Shak. vol. x. p. 4.] But, Brook, and the heralds, are as positive to the day, and month, and year. [Cat. of Succession, p. 224.]

(*w*) Dec. 11, 1585. Hen. Comes Southampton impubes 12 annorum admissus in matriculam Acad. Cant. [Regr. Acad. Cantab.] *Henricus Wriothsley Comes Southampton cooptatus in ordinem Magistrorum in artibus per gratiam*
Jur.

From the trammels of discipline, he entered the world, on the 6th of October, 1594. When he was scarcely of age, he had the honour to receive Shakspeare's dedication of *Venus and Adonis*, "the first heir of his invention:" As another token of his *love*, Shakspeare soon dedicated to his first patron "*The Rape of Lucrece*;" though "but a superfluous moiety of his duty." It is easy to conjecture, how this reciprocation of kindness commenced, between the peer, who was eleven years younger than Shakspeare, and the poet, who was struggling with the difficulties of life. We have already seen the origin of this connection, in the marriage of Sir Thomas Heneage, the treasurer of the chamber, with Lady Southampton; in the consequent intercourse of the family, with the play-house; and we may

Jun. 6, 1589. [Regr. Acad. Cantab.]—This note, Mr. Craven Ord very obligingly copied for me from the late Mr. Cole's copy of Wood's *Athenæ*, which is in his library. Lord Southampton was of St. John's College. [Mal. Shak. vol. x. p. 4.] And, in June 1590, he entered himself of Lincoln's Inn, it is said, on the authority of Leland, in his *Encomia*: But, the register of that inn, which has been searched, shows, that this assertion is a mistake, as to the inn; and a pension-roll of Grey's Inn has lately been found, in Lady Grey's library, at Wrest, in Bedfordshire; in which pension-roll [1611] Lord Southampton is mentioned as a member of Grey's-Inn.

easily suppose, that the youthfulness of Lord Southampton led him into all the gayeties of the world; as his passion for fame made him the protector of letters. From this epoch, Lord Southampton may be said to have been fed with dedications, the flatulent food of *wandering vanity*.

But, Lord Southampton was ere long smitten with love of a very different kind from Shakspeare's; being captivated by the charms of the *faire Mistress Varnon* (x). The opposition of Elizabeth made this a tedious courtship; which ended, at length, in a comfortless marriage.—“He accompanied Lord Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596,” says Mr. Malone (y): But, Camden, and Hakluyt keep Lord Southamp-

(x) Rowland White, whom we shall have frequent occasion to quote, wrote to Sir Henry Sydney, his patron, on the 23d of September 1595; “My Lord Southampton doth with to [too] much familiarity court the faire Mrs. Varnon, while his friends, observing the Queen’s humours towards my Lord of Essex, do what they can to bring her to favour him; but it is yet in vain.” [Sydney, Pap. vol. i. 348.] Mr. Malone has wisely remarked, that we ought not to be misled by the *olden* word *mistress* to suppose, that this charming fair one was either a disconsolate widow, or an old maid.

(y) Mal. Shak. vol. x. p. 4.

ton in (z) England; where he, doubtless, remained, "fetter'd in amorous chains:" And, Mr. Malone appoints Lord Southampton, in the following year, "captain of the "Garland, one of Queen Elizabeth's best "ships," and makes him "vice admiral of "the first squadron, in the fleet that sailed "against the Azores," in 1597 (a). But, Camden says expressly, that the Earls of Rutland, Southampton, and other lords, and knights, "lifted themselves as *volunteers* in "this expedition (b)." Whatever command he

(z) Kennet's Col. vol. ii. p. 593; and Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598, vol. i. p. 607-17, which both specify the principal persons in the expedition; and show, that the fleet remained at Cadiz, on the 5th of July 1596: Now, Lord Southampton executed at London a power of attorney, on the 1st of July, 1596, to Richard Rouching, to receive of George, Earl of Cumberland, and John Taylor, his servant, a thousand pounds. This curious document, which proves, that Lord Southampton, could not be at Cadiz on the 1st of July, 1596; and which also shows, how Lord Southampton could write at the age of three and twenty, Mr. Craven Ord communicated to me, in the most liberal manner. See Birch's Mem. of Q. Eliz. vol. ii. p. 45-50, for additional proofs, that Lord Southampton was not on the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596.

(a) Mal. Shak. vol. x. p. 4.

(b) Kennet, vol. ii. 597: Rowland White wrote Sir
K 4 Henry

he may have got, Lord Southampton behaved most gallantly: He was wounded in the engagement (*c*) with the Spaniards: He was knighted by Essex, upon the voyage: Yet, when he returned, with his friend, to court, in October 1597, Lord Southampton was frowned on by the Queen, “who thought “that Essex *might have done more*, and behaved better to Raleigh (*d*).”

Lord Southampton returned to the amusements, and business of London, with a new relish. On some quarrel, he challenged the Earl of Northumberland; but, they were restrained from fighting, by the Queen’s (*e*) order. He began his parliamentary career, on

Henry Sydney, on the 9th of April 1597—“Lord Southampton, by *two hundred means*, hath gotten leave to go with them [Lord Thomas Howard, and Raleigh] and is appointed to go in the Garland,” as *a volunteer*, says the context. [Sydney, Pap. vol. ii. p. 37.] And Birch’s Mem, vol. ii. p. 344, is positive on the point.

(*c*) Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 274: The Earl of Northumberland, who had been challenged by Lord Southampton, wrote to Bacon, that his lordship’s “arm was hurt with the *ballon*.”

(*d*) Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 72: “Lord Southampton fought “with one of the king’s great men of war, and funk her,” says Rowland White; but this is a very different story from Mr. Malone’s.

(*e*) Birch’s Mem, vol. ii. p. 274.

the 24th of October 1597 (*f*). He recommenced his courtship, with the *fallings-out*, and *renewals* of love. He proposed, in January 1597⁷, to travel with Mr. Secretary Cecil; “to the extreme grief of his mistresse, that “passes her time in weeping (*g*).” He, at the same time, gave mortal offence to Elizabeth, who was already indignant enough, that he should presume to love, without her knowledge, and to think of marriage, without her consent. Southampton, Raleigh, and other men of fashion, being at play one evening in the presence chamber, were warned by Willoughbie, the proper officer, to depart; as the Queen was retired to rest. Raleigh, who knew the penalty of disobedience, put his money into his purse, and departed: But, Southampton, being young, and heedless, remained, and struck Willoughbie, who returned the blow. Elizabeth hearing, on the morrow, of this brawl, thanked Willoughbie, and said, “he

(*f*) “*Introductum fuit breve Comitum South’ton, 24 Oct. 1597.* [Lords Journ. vol. ii. p. 192.] Lord Southampton was present, on the 7th Nov. the 26th Nov. the 13th and 14th Dec. and the parliament rose on the 8th of Feb’y 1597⁸. [Ib. 224.]

(*g*) Rowland White’s letter, dated 14 Jan’y 1597⁸, in Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 81.

“ had

“ had better have sent Southampton to the
 “ porter’s lodge; to see who durst have
 “ fetched him out (*b*).” Yet, Lord South-
 ampton thought her majesty’s usage of him
 very strange (*i*). He resolved, however, to
 attend Secretary Cecil, on his embassy to Paris;
 But, mean time, Cobham, Raleigh, and South-
 ampton, “ severally feasted Mr. Secretary, be-
 “ fore his departure; and had *plaies*, and ban-
 “ quets (*k*).” On the 10th of February 1597,
 Lord Southampton departed from (*l*) London;
 “ leaving behind him a most desolate gentle-
 “ woman, that almost wept out her fairest
 “ eyes (*m*).”

Few

(*b*) Rowland White tells the story, admirably, in his letter of the 19th Jan’y 1597: Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 83.

(*i*) Ib. 87.

(*k*) Rowland White, 30 Jan’y, 1597. Ib. 87.

(*l*) Birch’s Negotiations, p. 87.

(*m*) Rowland White, 11 February 1597. Ib. 90. He had secretly heard, “ that Lord Southampton was to have
 “ been married to his faire mistress, before his departure.”
 [Ib. 88.] This accounts for the weeping of the desolate
 gentlewoman. Yet, Mr. Malone marries them, in 1596;
 And, he sends him, in 1598, as general of the horse, to Ire-
 land, with Essex; while he was travelling with Mr. Secre-
 tary Cecil, in France. [Shak. vol. x. 5.] In the poetical
 dedication

Few young noblemen have travelled with a more prudent guide, than did Lord Southampton, with Mr. Secretary Cecil. They arrived at Paris on the 1st of March 1597. But, it was at Angers, on the 17th of March, that they had the gratification of seeing the celebrated Henry IV.; when Secretary Cecil presented Lord Southampton to that illustrious monarch, saying; that his lordship “was come
“ with deliberation to do him service:” Henry IV. embraced, and welcomed Lord (n) Southampton; who was disappointed, by the peace of Vervins, in the hopes of serving the campaign of 1598, under that great commander. He, probably, returned to London, in November (o) 1598; and was, undoubtedly, soon after

ter

dedication of Florio's *World of Words*, to Lord Southampton, in 1598, there are the following lines:

“ *Nono liv'ft in travell, foreine rites inquiring,*
 “ Honor's ingender'd sparkles thereto firing,
 “ Immutable in travel's mutabilitie.”

(n) See the dispatch in Birch's *Negotiations*, 109.

(o) Rowland White wrote, 2d November 1598, that Lord Southampton is about to return to England. *Syd. Pap.* vol. ii. 104. In the year 1598, Florio dedicated his *World of Words*, to the Earl of Rutland, to the Earl of Southampton, and to Lucie, the Countess of Bedford. To the Earl of Southampton he said:—“ In truth, I acknowledge an en-
 “ tire

ter married to Elizabeth Vernon, the daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in the county of Salop; to the great offence of Elizabeth, who sent them both to (p) prison; as the inexorable lord chancellor now sends his wards to durance *vils*, when they have been led, surreptitiously, to the altar of Hymen.

After mature deliberation, the Earl of Essex was appointed, in the beginning of 1599, Lord Deputy of Ireland, with unprecedented powers. On the 27th of March 1599, he departed for Ireland: And on that occasion—

“ ——— London pour'd out her citizens:

“ tire debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all; yea,
 “ of more than I know, or can to your bounteous lordship,
 “ *in whose pay and patronage I have lived some years; to*
 “ whom I owe and vowe the years I have to live. But, as
 “ to me, and many more, the glorious and gracious sunshine
 “ of your honour hath infused light and life.” It ought to
 be remembered that, when the second edition of this *World*
of Words, was published, in 1611, the first dedication was un-
 gratefully suppressed, and a fresh dedication was made, “ To
 “ the imperiall majestie of the highest borne princes, *Anna*
 “ of Denmark, crowned queen of England, Scotland, France,
 “ and Ireland; &c.”

(p) Brook's Catalogue, 224: In writing to the Lords of the Council, Essex expressed himself thus: “ Was it
 “ treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor
 “ kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment, nor any
 “ punishment besides, that hath been usual, in like cases, can
 “ satisfy, or appease?” [Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 422.]

“ The

“ The mayor, and all his brethren, in best fort,
 “ Like to the senators of antique Rome,
 “ With the plebeians, swarming at their heels,
 “ Went forth.”

“ In 1598” [1599] says Mr. Malone, “ Lord
 “ Southampton attended his noble friend to
 “ Ireland, as general of the horse (*q*).” Being,
 at last, safely arrived, in Ireland, says Camden ;
 “ and having received the sword, according to
 “ form, Essex immediately made the Earl of
 “ Southampton general of the horse, clean con-
 “ trary to his instructions (*r*).” It was here,
 that an enmity began between Lord Southamp-
 ton, and Lord Grey, which created, afterwards,
 much vexation to both (*s*). Lord Southampton,
 being soon dismissed from his command, by the
 Queen’s orders, returned to London, on the
 20th of September 1599 ; and Lord Essex
 unexpectedly arrived on the 28th of the same

(*q*) Shak. vol. x. 5.

(*r*) An. in Kennet, vol. ii. 614: Birch’s Mem. vol. ii.
 p. 396.

(*s*) Mr. Secretary Cecil wrote to the ambassador Neville
 at Paris on the 9th of June 1599: “ Yf you chance to heare
 “ any flying tale, that my Lord Grey should be *committed* in
 “ Ireland, the accident was only this: That he being only a
 “ colonel of horse, and my Lord of Southampton general, he
 “ did charge, without direction ; and so, for order sake, was
 “ only committed to the marshal, for one night.” [Win-
 wood’s Mem. vol. i. 47.]

month ;

month; but, without “bringing rebellion
“broached on his sword (*t*).” Lord South-
ampton came not any more to court, but
passed his time in London, merely in going
to plaies, every day. Lady Southampton, and
Lady Rich, who had been at Effex-house,
retired into the country (*u*).

In December 1599, Lord Mountjoy, a
person of less presumption, and more talents,
than Effex, was nominated Lord Deputy of
Ireland. Lord Southampton was, soon after,
appointed to accompany him; having the
command of only two hundred foot, and one
hundred horse: yet, he attended several weeks,
in hopes of having the satisfaction of kissing
the Queen’s hand; but, though *Mr. Secretary
Cecil was his friend*, he could not obtain that
favour; the Queen only wishing him, at last,
a good journey (*v*). When Lord Southampton

(*t*) Rowland White wrote, on the 11th August 1599,
“that Lord Southampton is discharged;” on the 25 Sep-
tember, “that he is returned to London;” on the 1st Oc-
tober, that Lord Effex had “unexpectedly returned, and
“was committed to custody.” [Syd. Pap. vol. ii. 115-
128-130.]

(*u*) *Ib.* 132.

(*v*) It should seem from Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 471,
“that Lord Southampton was sent to Ireland by the Earl of
“Effex,” for whatever purpose of good, or evil: Becoming
uneasy there, he went from thence to the Low Countries.
[*Id.*]

departed,

departed, in April 1600, he sent word to Lord Grey, “ that he would meet him in any place “ in Ireland.” The Queen transmitted orders “ to stay the combat.” As a soldier, he acted with such good conduct, and bravery, as to obtain the Lord Deputy’s commendation. He soon stopped his military career, in order to end his quarrel with Lord Grey, in *The Low Countries*. But, in September 1600, they both appeared in London, where their quarrel was soon forgotten, by the world, amidst events of greater moment (*w*).

Meantime, Lord Essex was tried, and censured for his misconduct in Ireland. He submitted; and repented; and soon again offended. He recalled Lord Southampton from the Low Countries; in order to concert with him projects of insurrection: And, he laboured, by flatteries, to prevail upon the King of Scots, to enter into their seditious projects (*x*). It was at this moment, at the eve of the insurrection, that Lord Grey assaulted Lord Southampton, as he rode along the streets; for which, however, he was committed to the Fleet: So ungoverned were the resentments of the great, in that, and the sub-

(*w*) See Rowland White’s News, in Syd. Pap. vol. ii. 149—64—5—71—9—82—90—98—209—10—16.

(*x*) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 629—30—31.

sequent; reign (y). Lord Southampton now entered, with Lord Essex, into the most reasonable consultations. On the 8th of February 1600-1, they assembled, with other conspirators, at Essex-house. And, they there imprisoned the privy counsellors, who were sent by the Queen, to learn the meaning of their tumultuous convention. They now sallied out, into the city, with rebellious (z) purpose; expecting to overturn, by sudden tumult, the best established government in Europe. They were, however, soon overpowered. Essex, and Southampton, were tried, on the 19th of February, for high treason.

(y) See Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 629; and Winwood's Mem. vol. i. p. 292.

(z) With regard to Essex's insurrection, Camden [Kennet, 632,] remarks what is very curious; "Those that judged most severely of it, termed it perverseness, and an impatient thirst for revenge; and they that spoke worst of it, gave it no harsher name, than that of an indiscreet forwardness; and to this day, few there are that looked upon it as a capital offence."—Of this opinion, is Mr. Malone, who says, that Lord Southampton was condemned for having joined Lord Essex in his *wild project*. [Shaks. vol. x. p. 5.] We here see an example, how an imputation may be cast on judges and juries, by misrepresenting the nature of the criminal's offence: Lord Southampton was not found guilty of "joining in a wild project;" but of levying war against the Queen, which, in judgment of law, amounted to high treason.

Essex

Essex was condemned, and executed. Lord Southampton made a defence, modest, but feeble: and having calmly asked the attorney general Coke, what he thought, in his conscience, they designed to do with the Queen?

“The same,” said Coke, with his usual acuteness, “that Henry of Lancaster did with Richard the 2d.” Lord Southampton was also condemned “by all the several voices of every one of the peers,” who sat on the trial. Essex generously requested the peers to interpose with the Queen, in favour of Southampton; who, he said, was capable of doing her good service. Lord Southampton himself begged the peers to intercede for him in so becoming a manner, as excited the compassion of all, who heard him (a). He, at length, obtained a pardon, which saved his life, and which he owed to the friendship of Mr. Secretary Cecil; between whom, and him, there had been a *nearness*, and *intimacy*, from their (b) youth; but, Southampton was confined

(a) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 636.

(b) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 635.—Winwood’s Mem. vol. i. 307—19.—On this point, however, Mr. Malone reasons, in his usual manner, that because there was enmity, between Essex and Cecil, there was hatred between Cecil and Southampton; and, in a moment, propitious to illibe-

fin'd in the tower, from prudential considerations, during the reign of the Queen; happily, for himself, I think, and fortunately, for his family: For, he was a man of indiscretion, through his whole life.

It is a fact, which will ever be memorable, in dramatic history, “ that the afternoon before the rebellion, Merrick, with a great company of others, who were afterwards in the action, procured to be played before them, the play of deposing Richard 2d: When it was told Merrick, (c) by one of the players, that the play was old, and they should have loss in playing it, because few would come to it, there were forty shillings extraordinary given to play it; and so, thereupon, played it was (d). The ingratitude

of sentiment, he subjoins, “ that Salisbury’s [Cecil’s] mind seems to have been as crooked as his body.” [Shakf. vol. x. p. 6.] And, see *Reliquiæ* Wotton. 180: and Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 462.

(c) Sir Gilly Merrick; who, being charged as the chief commander, that undertook the defence of Essex-house, was found guilty of treason, and executed.

(d) See *A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons, attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Essex, and his Complices*:—Printed by Barker, 1601. This declaration was plainly penned by Bacon, and published by authority.

gratitude of Essex did not sink deeper into the heart of Elizabeth, than the acting of this play, as the watch-word of the rebels. Her fears transformed her into Richard 2d; and made her fancy herself already a captive princess, who was only one step more from the grave (e). Her wounded pride induced her

to
It contains a copy of "The Examination of the Earl of Southampton after his Arraignment." There is a doubt among the commentators, whether the play, acted on that occasion, were Richard 2d, or Henry 4th. [Mal. Shak. vol. v. p. 3.] But, this declaration, with the conference between Elizabeth and Lambarde, show clearly, that there was no sufficient ground in *The State Trials* for that doubt.

(e) The English world owe much to Mr. Nichols for publishing in his *Progresses*, vol. ii. p. i, The conference between Queen Elizabeth, and William Lambarde, on the 4th of August 1601. She never acted better, though she had received a mortal wound. It is remarkable, that Queen Elizabeth, and Dr. Johnson, fell upon the same mode of delicate commendation: when Johnson would, indirectly, compliment Beattie's verses on the birth of the present Earl of Errol, he read them aloud with such grace, and dignity, as to charm the hearers: When Elizabeth would compliment Lambarde, she read his *Pandeſta Rotulorum*, "with an audible voice, so readily, and distinctly, that it clearly appeared she well understood them." Her Majesty, at length, fell upon the reign of Richard 2d; saying: "I am Richard 2d, know ye not that?" Lambarde answered: "Such a wicked imagination was attempted by a most unkind gentleman, the most adorned creature, that ever your Majesty made." The Queen replied: "He that

to see her own degradation by him, who had been raised by her favour, and enriched by her bounty: And, she allowed such unworthy thoughts to prey upon her spirits. Distrust constantly whispered, in her ears, what she seems to have believed, that hardly an honest man was any where to be found. Jealousy, and fear, taking alternate possession

“ will forget God, will also forget his benefactors; this
 “ tragedy was played forty times in open streets and houses.”
 After some indifferent discourse, she asked Lambarde: “ If
 “ he had ever seen a lively representation of Richard 2d:”
 —He answering, “ None, but what be in common hands,”
 she said, “ She would command Knevet, the keeper of her
 “ house at Westminster, to shew him a picture of Richard
 “ 2d, which Lord Lumley had found on the back side of a
 “ door, in a base room.” Returning to the Rolls of ancient
 times, she said: “ In those days force and arms did prevail,
 “ but now the wit of the fox is every where on foot; so as
 “ hardly a faithfull, or virtuous man may be found.” In
 this interesting conference, we may see how the tragedy of
 Richard 2d hung upon her spirits, and how much the
 “ Unfaithfulness of Essex, and the acting of Richard 2d,”
 contributed to bring that great Queen, with sorrow, to
 the grave. This deduction is much confirmed by a letter,
 dated, in 1601; from Sir Robert Sydney to Sir John Har-
 rington: “ I do see the Queen often; she doth *wax weak*,
 “ since *the late troubles*; and Burleigh’s death doth often
 “ draw tears down her goodly cheeks: She walketh out but
 “ little, meditates much alone, and sometimes writes in
 “ private to her best friends.” [See this letter, which is very
 curious, in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 253.]

of her mind, made her apprehend, that she, who was supported by the wisest, and bravest, men in England, was neglected by her own ministers. Thus torn, by contradictory passions, she was at length deserted by hope, the last refuge of the wretched; and she died, on the 24th of March 1603; refusing sustenance; and rejecting consolation.

At the accession of James 1st to the throne of England, the rising fortune of Lord Southampton conducted him from his prison to the palace (*f*). He was released from the tower, on the 10th of April, 1603; and he was immediately restored to his lands, and other rights, which had been forfeited, by his attainder. He was made master of the game to the Queen. A pension, of six hundred pounds a year, was settled on his wife. He was installed a knight of the garter, on the 2d of July 1603; made captain of the isle of Wight; and, by a new patent, dated the 21st of July, he was again created, by his former titles. He was appointed, in the beginning of the

(*f*) On the Queen's demise, "Lord Southampton was much visited; and much well-wished." He was courted by Bacon. [Bacon's Remains, 61.] Raleigh addressed, in August 1603, a letter of justification to the Earls of Southampton, Suffolk, and Devonshire, and to Lord Cecil. [Raleigh's Works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 379.]

subsequent year, lord lieutenant of Hampshire, together with the Earl of Devonshire. When the parliament met on the 19th of March 1604, Lord Southampton produced his writ of summons. The first bill, which was read, after the recognition of the King, was for restitution of Henry, Earl of Southampton; and immediately was passed, a bill for restitution of the children of the Earl of Essex (g). King James, recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, acted, on his accession, as if he had thought, that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him.

Amidst other felicities of that happy period of his life, Lord Southampton's wife brought

(g) See Lords Journal, vol. ii. p. 264-66: On the 26th of March 1604, the Lord Chamberlain signified to the house of Peers " that the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke " were to be excused for their absence from parliament for " some time; for that they were commanded to wait upon " the King in his journey to Royston." [Ib.] Yet, it is said, that he was arrested in June 1604, for a *supposed conspiracy*. [Birch's Mem. vol. ii. 494.] By the machinations of Essex's great adversary, the Lord Salisbury, it is supposed, says Mr. Malone, King James was persuaded to believe, that too great an intimacy subsisted between Lord Southampton, and his Queen. [Shaksf. vol. x. p. 6—9.] See Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 495. Lord Southampton, however, was present at the prorogation of parliament, on the 7th of July 1604.—[Lords Journal, vol. ii. of that date.]

him

him a son, on the 4th of March 1605; who was christened, at court, on the 27th; “the King, and Lord Cranburn, with the Counts of Suffolk, being goffips (*b*).” This tide of favour continuing to flow, Lord Southampton was appointed for life, in June 1606, warden of the New forest, and keeper of the park of Lindhurst. In February 1607, he obtained an additional grant of lands in the New forest. In the subsequent November, he lost his mother; who, after the decease of Sir Thomas Heneage, married Sir William Harvey; and who “left the best of her stuffe to her sonne, and the greatest part to her husband (*i*).” He now tried to promote his own interest, and to benefit the state, by engaging in colonization, notwithstanding the satire of (*j*) Hall, the sarcasm of (*k*) Shakspeare,

(*b*) Winwood’s Mem. vol. iii. p. 54: This transaction ought to convince the incredulous, that Lord Cranburn [Cecil] was the constant friend of Lord Southampton.

(*i*) Lodge’s Illust. vol. iii. p. 331.

(*j*) In his *Virgidemiarum*, printed in 1599:

“Ventrous Fortunio his farme hath sold,

“And gads to *Guiane* land to fish for gold.”

(*k*) In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*:—Falstaff says of Ford’s wife: “She bears the purse too; she is a region in *Guiana*; all gold, and bounty:”—Of Mrs. Ford, and Mrs. Page, he says: “They shall be my East, and West, *Indies*; and I will trade to them both.”

and the united ridicule of Chapman, Jonson, and Marston (1). He became, in 1609, a leading character in the first Virginia company: He took an active part, in the project of sending ships to the American coast, for the purposes of discovery, and of traffic. During the years 1620-1621, and 1622, he was chosen, in opposition to the court, the treasurer of that corporation, a place of envied trust (m).

Meantime; Lord Southampton engaged in the strifes of the town, which evince, by

(1) In *Eastward Ho*, 1605:—Scapethrift asks, “If Virginia be a pleasant countrie?” Seagull answers: “As ever the sunne shin’d on: Wild bore is as common there, as our tamest bacon is here; venison, as mutton; and you shall live freely there, without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers: You may be an alderman there, without being a scavenger; you may be any other officer there, and never be a slave: To riches and fortune enough, you may come, and never have the more villainye, nor the less witte: Besides, there, we shall have no more law, than conscience; and not too much of either.” It is curious to observe, that Virginia had not been planted, in 1605. It was first colonized, in 1607. [See Stith’s History of Virginia, printed at Williamsburg, in that country, 1747.]

(m) *ib.* 231: Several places were named in Virginia after Lord Southampton: as, Southampton-hundred: Hampton-roads.

their

their frequency, during “ the gentle sleeping
 “ peace ” of James’s reign, the turbulence of
 the age. In April 1610, he had a quarrel
 with the Earl of Montgomery: “ They fell
 “ out at tennis, where the rackets flew about
 “ their ears, but the matter was compounded
 “ by the King, without further bloodshed (n).
 He was soon after distinguished, in a more
 honourable manner. When Henry was created
 Prince of Wales, on the 4th of June 1610,
 Lord Southampton acted as his carver, at the
 splendid (o) entertainment, which was given
 on that festive day. In July 1613, expecting
 a visit at his house, in the New forest, from
 the King, in his progress, Lord Southampton
 returned from the continent, with unwelcome
 haste (p). He now received dedications from
 the learned; and, in return, gave protection
 to learning (q). In 1617, he accompanied

(n) Winwood’s Mem. vol. iii. p. 154.

(o) Ib. 180.

(p) Ib. 461—75.

(q) In 1614, Richard Brathwayt, dedicated *The Scholars
 Medley* “ to Lord Southampton, learning’s best favourite.”
 In 1617, Lord Southampton contributed, with other munifi-
 cent patrons of learning, and worth, to relieve the distress
 of *Minsheu*, the elaborate author of *The Guide to Tongues*.
 See a very curious advertisement to the *first* edition of that
 learned, and useful, work.

King James, into Scotland (*r*). His attentions on that journey paved the way to an honour, which he had long solicited, without success; being sworn a privy-counsellor, on the 19th of April 1619. But, as he never was remarkable for prudence, he seems to have derived no benefit from the station, to which he had looked up as the consummation of his wishes. As the court did not act with him; so he acted against the court: He opposed, both in the Virginia company, and in parliament, the desires of the King, and the measures of the minister. He made a successful motion against illegal patents, in the parliament, which met the beginning of the year 1621 (*s*). It was at the sitting of the 14th of March, that he had an altercation with the Marquis of Buckingham, which was moderated by the Prince of Wales. Yet, on account of suspicions, which were entertained of his intrigues, on that occasion, with members of the House of Commons, he was committed, on the 16th of June, twelve days after the adjournment of parliament, to the keeping of

(*r*) Lord Southampton returned from Scotland, on the 28th of June 1618. [Bacon's Letters, p. 126.]

(*s*) Lord's Journal, vol. iii. p. 10—46—62.

the Dean of Westminster, under the charge of Sir William Parkhurst (*t*). On the 18th of July, he was so far enlarged, as to be confined to his house, at Titchfield: And, on the 1st of September he was set, altogether, at liberty (*u*).

This confinement did not repress Lord Southampton's activity, and usefulness, in the new parliament, which assembled on the 9th of February 1624. He was on the committee, for considering of the defence of Ireland; he was on the committee, for the stopping of the export of money; he was on the committee, for the making of arms, more serviceable: And he was present at the prorogation, on the 29th of May 1624 (*v*). The animosity of the nation against Spain, and the violence of the parliament, which was excited by that resentment, obliged King James to depart from his pacific system, although contrary to

(*t*) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 656-7: And see Lord Southampton's examination in the appendix to Tyrwhit's *Proceedings of the House of Commons*, 1620, printed at Oxford, 1766.

(*u*) Council-registers of those dates. And see *the Cabala*, for his correspondence with the Lord Keeper Williams, on that occasion, p. 331-2 of the edit. 1691.

(*v*) Lords Journals, vol. iii. p. 237—258—293.

his

his warmest remonstrances. In this manner, was James induced to enter into a treaty, on the 5th of June 1624, with the States General; for continuing the defensive alliance between (w) them; and for allowing them to raise four regiments in England, which were to consist of six thousand men. Lord Southampton obtained the command of one of those regiments (x). In this inglorious service of a foreign power, he lost his eldest son, and his own life: He died at Bergen-op-zoom, on the 10th of November; and was buried at Titchfield, with his son, on the 28th of December 1624. He left three daughters, who married into honourable families; and a widow, who long survived him (y). The facts,

(w) The treaty is published in a *General Collection*, printed in 1713, p. 226. From this treaty, it appears, that the four regiments were each to contain twelve companies, who were to be commanded by one colonel; the whole were to be under commissions from *The States General*.

(x) Mr. Malone says he was appointed *jointly* with the Earl of Essex, Lords Oxford, and Willoughby, to the command of six thousand men, who were sent to the Low Countries. [Shaks. vol. x. p. 6.] The fact is, as I have stated it, that Lord Southampton was merely colonel of a regiment in the Dutch service; as the treaty clearly proves.

(y) There is in the *Cabala*, p. 299, a letter from the Lord Keeper Williams, dated the 7th Nov. 1624, to the

- Duke

facts, that have, in this manner, been fairly stated, are the best illustrations of his genuine character; and are the strongest proofs of his literary connection with Shakspeare.

Yet, the public accuser declares, that the epistles between Southampton, and Shakspeare, "if possible surpass in absurdity any thing we have yet examined (z)." In order to prove this absurdity, he produces, as his first argument, an existing *archetype* of these epistles, which might be "commodiously wrought upon (a)." As his second argument, he states, an existing *tradition*, which was first mentioned by Mr. Rowe, and had been transmitted to him by Sir William D'Avenant, that Lord Southampton had given Shakspeare a thousand pounds. And, he subjoins, as his third argument, that this story, true, or false, was a good subject for a correspondence, between the patron and the poet. Now, these are the very arguments, which would have induced Watts, Locke, and Wilson, who, in their several ages, had taught *right reason to*

Duke of Buckingham; begging "his grace and goodness towards the most distressed widow and children of my Lord Southampton."

(z) Inquiry, 164.

(a) *Ib.* 166.

lytell wittes, to be of opinion, that the said correspondence, between the patron and the poet, was, probably, genuine. Our Inquirer's fourth argument is an assertion, that "the hand-writing of the first letter has not the slightest resemblance to that of (b) Shakspeare;" as if the hand-writing of Shakspeare had been ever ascertained. His fifth argument is an affirmation, without proof, "that the spelling is the spelling of no time;" as if there had been, in those times, any *settled rule* for spelling. And, he insists, as a sixth argument, that Shakspeare has here departed from the duplication of the *r* in *for*; as if the public accuser had not before objected to the duplication of the *r* in *forre*, as unprecedented in the English speech.

But, he will, now, produce an objection, which must carry conviction with it to every mind. By way of compensation for the illogical weakness of his former arguments, he "gives us *bllossomes* and *bllooms*, a combination of consonants of which no example can be produced in the English language, from the time of Robert of Gloster to this day." If the objection be levelled against the

(b) Inquiry, p. 171.

duplication of the *l*, as unexampled, a more diligent inquiry will probably find, that his assumption is unsupported by the fact. Not one of the letters in our alphabet has been more duplicated, by our British ancestors, than *l* (*c*). From them we have, to this day, Llandaff, Llewelin, and Lloyd. This duplication of the Britons was converted, by our Saxon progenitors, into an *aspirate*: as *blasf*, for loaf; *blasmeasse*, for lammas (*d*). And the practice was still more softened, by our ancestors, during the civil contests of York, and Lancaster; as may be seen in *sympyll* for (*e*) *simple*; *Mychellmesse* for *Michaelmas*; in *all-messe*, for (*f*) *alms*; *chapellayn*, for (*g*) *chaplain*; and in *allmyghty* God (*h*): “Yff they
 “ wolle not dredde ne obbey that,” says Sir John (*i*) Fastolfe, with great piety, but with great duplication of consonants. There was

(*c*) See Davis Dictionary under the letter *Ll*: And see Salesbury's British Grammar, 1567, Sig^r. D. 1: “Of the
 “ strange sound of double *ll*:—The Englysheman's
 “ tounge, when he would sound *ll*, flydeth to *ll*.”

(*d*) See Manning's Lye, L.

(*e*) Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 282.

(*f*) Ib. vol. ii. 84.

(*g*) Ib. vol. ii. 88.

(*h*) Ib. vol. ii. 34.

(*i*) Ib. 52.

a fashion.

a fashion in spelling, among particular persons, as in objects of greater consequence. The *worthy wyffe* of the *worschopffull* John Paston had a passion for the duplication of g: as *Haftynggs*, for *Hastings*; *tynggys*, for *things*; as *tydynggs*, for *tidings*; as, the *Kynggs howyn band*. In 1455, the great Earl of Warwick affected to duplicate, both the g, and the n: He dated his letter from “Wythinne owr loggyng in y^e G^ry Freys wythinne Newgate (k).” During the reigns of Henry 8, and his three children, the state-papers, published by Lodge, illustrate this point of the orthography, as well as throw abundant light upon the history of England. Mr. Malone fails, then, in his assumption, that such a duplication of consonants is unexampled, in the English language, from the days of Edward 1st to the present (l).

But, Shakspeare was too good a naturalist, the public accuser repeats, not to know, that

(k) *Ib.* vol. i. 86.

(l) He seems to forget “The goodly Hystory of the true, and constant Love between *Rhomeo* and Julietta,” in Painter’s *Palace of Pleasure*, vol. ii. p. 179; wherein he might have seen the *unprecedented* duplication of *Rhomeo*.

a bud *first blooms*, and then (*m*) *blossoms*; and too good a drayman, it seems, to put the cart before the horse. I suspect, however, that while Shakspeare's heart was overflowing with gratitude, his eye was fixed on a passage of Gascoigne, in praise of *Concord* (*n*):

“ When tract of time returns the lustie *ver*,
 “ By thee alone the *buds* and *blossomes* spring:
 “ The fields with flowers begarnished ev'ry where;
 “ The *blooming* trees abundant leaves do bring.”

In the same strain of assumption, the public accuser goes on to suppose, that Shakspeare was *careless*; that our *careless* poet never kept a copy of any letter he wrote; and, that the epithet *Grace* was never applied to peers, who

(*m*) See Johnson in Vo. *Bloom*, a *blossom*; to *bloom*; to bring *bleffoms*: See Ash, in Vo. *Bloom*, a *blossom*; to *bloom* to *blossom*: And see Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, in Vo. *Pulluli*, buds, *blossomes*, or young sprigges; *Pullulare* to bud, *blossome*, to spring. Shakspeare was too good a philologist not to know, that *blooms*, and *blossoms*, are synonymas; and like other writers, who are labouring more with the thought, than the language, tried to add something to the force of the sentiment, by the repetition of synonymas, how contrary soever this may be to later practice. Shakspeare may have learned, as he learned other matters, from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567, by means of the tale of “ The Empresse Faustina, and the Countess of Celant, what “ *blossoms blome* of whorish life, and what fruites thereof be “ culled.” [See the preface to the second volume.]

(*n*) England's Parnassus, 1600, p. 33.

M

” were

were inferior to dukes: For, he adds, the phrase,—*his Grace of Norfolk, or his Grace of Bucks*, is much posterior to the sixteenth century (o). But, to assert is always more easy than to inquire. I join issue with the public accuser, upon the point: and, I undertake, on the contrary, to prove, that the epithet *Grace* was applied to the lower orders of nobility, during the fifteenth century. A love sick lady, writing to a baron, bold, produced these memorable verses (p):

“ My Ryght good Lord, most knyghtly, gentyll knyght,
 “ Onto yo’r *Grace*, in my most humbyll wyfe
 “ I me commend———
 “ Onto your *Lordshep* to wryght w’ought lycence.”

Having thus proved my point, I might here close my proof: But, for the establishment of truth, will I show, equally, that his second position is as groundless, as his first. Drant has some (q) verses, which he dedicated “ To
 “ the

(o) Inquiry, 172-3.—The phrase too; “ *Jocky of Norfolk* be not too bold, for Dickon, thy master, is bought, and “ fold;” is much posterior, no doubt, to the age of Shakspeare.

(p) Fenn’s Let. vol. iii. p. 304, in the time, either of Henry 6th, or of Edward 4th.

(q) Translation of Horace, 1566:—

“ O fame, where dydste thou then sojorne,
 “ Inviron’d in what place,

“ Waft

“ the Duke’s grace’s departynge:” The fact is, that there was no settled practice, for the application of complimentary epithets, to the peers. When Shakspeare dedicated his *Venus* and *Adonis* to Lord Southampton, in 1593, he concluded; “ your honours, in all duty:” when he dedicated his *Rape of Lucrece*, to the same patron, in 1594, he concluded; “ your lordships in all duty.” The state papers, and the stage plays of that period show, plainly, that there was no settled practice, in the usual mode of address either to the (r) prince, or to the

“ Wast thou? that we in no wise knewe,

“ The commyng of his grace.”

—This, I presume, was the Duke of Northumberland, who proclaimed Queen Mary, at Cambridge, on the 20th of July; and was beheaded on the 22d of August, 1553. [Howe’s Chron. 612-14.]

(r) In Shakspeare’s Henry 6, part 2d, act 1, s. 2:

Hume. Jesu preserve your royal *majesty*!

Duch. What say’st thou, *majesty*! I am but *grace*.

Hume. But, by the grace of God, and Hume’s advice,
Your *grace’s* title shall be multiply’d.

Duch. What say’st thou, man? has thou as yet conferred
With Margery Jourdain, the cunning witch;
And Roger Bolingbroke, the conjuror?
And will they undertake to do me good?

Hume. This, they have promised: To show your *highness*
A spirit rais’d from depth of underground,
That shall make answer to such questions,
As by your *grace* shall be propounded him.”

the peer. And, it is, therefore, inconclusive, to found objections upon a supposed uniformity, which never, in fact, existed.

But, the public accuser asserts with the same positiveness, which is equally unsupported by proofs, that the conclusion of Shakspeare's epistle is "*completely modern*:" "*Yours devotedly* and with due respects," he affirms, is a conclusion completely modern (s). On this position, I again join issue with him. The subject is curious, as a point of archaeology; if it were not always of importance to vindicate the truth. Fenn's letters show, with sufficient distinctness, how familiarly the epistolary correspondence of the fifteenth century was concluded. For example: In 1473,

This passage is alone sufficient to prove, that there was then, no settled form of using *majesty*, *grace*, and *highness*. And, see act 1. s. 3. *Grace* is an epithet, which Shakspeare has been studious to use in many forms. [See Ayscough's Index, in Vo. *Grace*.] In Phaer's dedication of his *Virgil* to Queen Mary, in 1558, he calls her indiscriminately "gracious "*highness*, excellent *princesse*, soverain good ladie, redought-ed maistresse, *majesty*, and *grace*." James Howel, writing to Jane, the Marchioness of Winchester, in 1626, concluded; "Your *grace's* most humble and ready servitor." [Howel's Letters, 116.] This quotation proves, that the epithet, *grace*, had not, even in 1626, been appropriated by scholars.

(s) Inquiry, 177.

"Your

“Your fellow, — Haſtyngs (*t*):” “Your,
 “John Paſton (*u*):”—In 1465, “*Per le vo-*
 “*tre*, J. Payn (*v*):” In 1469, “Yours’,
 “Margaret Paſton (*w*).” In 1460, “Your
 “friend, Scales (*x*). In 1460, “Your prieſt,
 “the abbot of Langley (*y*).” In 1485, the
 Duke of Norfolk, writing to John Paſton,
 concluded his epiſtle, “Your *lover*, J. Nor-
 “folk (*z*).” The ſame familiarity of ſtyle
 continued through the ſubſequent century; as
 may be ſeen in Howard’s Collections. Lady
 Stanley, writing, in 1571, to Lord Suffex,
 concluded, “Yours, Iſabel Stanley (*a*)” The
 Duke of Norfolk, writing to Mr. Secretary
 Cecil, in 1567, concluded, “Your ever moſt
 “beholden.” Lord Windefor, writing in 1560,
 to Lord Suffex, concluded, “by your aſſur-
 “ed (*b*).” The Earl of Effex, writing to

(*t*) Fenn’s Let. vol. ii. p. 155. (*u*) *Ib.* 133.

(*v*) *Ib.* vol. i. 63. (*w*) *Ib.* 31.

(*x*) *Ib.* vol. iii. 367. (*y*) *Ib.* 401.

(*z*) *Ib.* 335:—Cardinal Wolfeſey, after his fall, concluded
 his letter to Secretary Gardiner, in the following manner:
 “Wryttyn at Aſher with the tremylling hand and hevy hert
 “of your aſſuryd *lover* and bedyſman, T. Car^{lis}. Ebor.”
 [Strype’s Mem. vol. i. apx. 91.] The cardinal concluded
 another of his letters to Secretary Gardiner: “*Yours*, with
 “hert and prayer, T. Car^{lis}. Ebor. *miſerrimus*.” [*Ib.* 90.]

(*a*) Howard’s Col. 235.

(*b*) *Ib.* 221.

the Lord Chamberlain, in 1577, concluded, "Your lordship's most bounden." Baldwin finished his epistle dedicatory of his *Mirroure for Magistrates*, in 1559, by saying, "Yours most humblie." In 1567, Painter concluded the dedication of his *Palace of Pleasure* to Sir George Howard, by subscribing himself, "Your most bounden." When the *Dome to Judgement* was dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Bromley, in 1581, the author finished his epistle, by subscribing, "Yours at commandment, Stephen Batman, in divinity professor." In January, 1589, Spenser concluded his prefatory epistle of the Fairy Queen to Raleigh, "Yours most humbly affectionate:" He concluded his dedication of *Colin Clout* to Raleigh: "Yours ever humbly Edmond Spenser." The *Penitent Publican* was dedicated, in 1610, to the Countesse of Huntington, by the author, who subscribed, "Your honors most humblie devoted, Thomas Collins." When Drayton published a corrected edition of his poems, in 1613, he addressed them to his esteemed friend, *Master James Huish*, by saying; "In good faith, worthy of all love I think you, which I pray you let supply the place of further compliment; yours ever, Michael Drayton."

“ Drayton.” The dedications of books, during the preceding age, are, generally, concluded, by such familiar expressions, as “ *Yours* most humbly;” “ *Yours* most humbly devoted;” “ *Yours* ever.” But, I will knit up this looped network,—

“ ——— or at the least, so prove it,

“ That the probation bear no hinge, nor loop,

“ To hang a doubt on,”—

by quoting the modern conclusion of Heylyn's dedication to his “ *Little Description of the Great World*,” in 1624; “ To the most excellent Charles Prince of Wales;” subscribing himself, “ Your Highnesse most humbly devoted, Peter Heylyn.”

Yet, the public accuser positively insists upon his point; and continues to call for examples of such familiar phrases, that were used by the low to the high: *yours*, and *yours devotedly*, he says explicitly, *he has never found in the conclusion of letters*, during Shakspeare's age (c). By quoting such conclusions of epistles, in that, and the preceding, age, I have saved him

(c) Inquiry, 179: The short answer is; “ Seek, and ye shall find:” Look into Fenn's Letters, every where; in Howard's Collections; in the Cabala; in the Sydney Papers; which are all books, he sometimes quotes;—and in the epistolary dedications of black letter pamphlets; of which he has many thousands.

the trouble of a second search, although it may mortify the *conceit* of sceptics, who suppose, that a thing does not exist; because they cannot find it.

In this spirit of scepticism, however, the public accuser takes a view of Lord Southampton's answer to Shakspeare's epistle (*d*). Of this munificent patron, the *paymaster* of Florio, he is studious to state, as his first argument; that "all the poets and artists of the "time looked up to him as their protector (*e*)." From this fact, *Croufaz* would have (*f*) concluded, that it is very probable, such a Southampton would write such an epistle to such a Shakspeare. The public accuser now passes from the orthography; and comes to the phraseology; although he still worships *uniformity*, as the idol of his philology. The *Deare William* of the address, he thinks too familiar, for, "the immeasurable distance at "which Shakspeare stood from Lord Southampton (*g*)." This distance was not more immeasurable, than the height between Queen Elizabeth and her female attendants; and,

(*d*) Inquiry, 179.

(*e*) Ib. 180.

(*f*) See *La Logique*. Amster. 1720.

(*g*) Inquiry, 181.

King James and his male servants: Yet, to Lady Drury Elizabeth wrote, "Bee well ware *my Bessie*;" to Lady Paget, "good Kate," to Lady Norris, "my own (*b*) crowe:" King James began his letters to the Lord Treasurer, Salisbury, "My little (*i*) beagle," and to the Duke of Buckingham, "My dear stinie (*k*)."¹ But, it seems, peers were, in those days, more starched, than their sovereigns: And yet, we see nothing of this in Fenn's Letters; nor in Lodge's Illustrations. The endearing epithet *Deare*, in the commencement of an epistle, is quite unexampled, it seems; yet, have we, in 1550, "My *dearest* friend;"² as the first words of a letter from Sir George Hayward to a lady (*l*).

(*b*) Inquiry, 111-13-14: And, see, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 166, a letter from Elizabeth to Burghley 1583, which begins "*Sir spirit*, I doubt I do nickname you: For those of your kind (they say) have no sense. But, I have of late seen an *ecce signum*, that if an asse kick you, you feel it so soon, &c." She concluded: "God bless you, and long may you last, *omnino*, E. R."—Burleigh had his revenge of her; as may be seen in Peck.

(*i*) Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 325.

(*k*) See in Lord Hailes's Mem. Glasg. 1766, several letters from *Stinie* to King James; which he concludes; "Your majesty's most humble slave and dog."

(*l*) Howard's Collections, p. 521.

When

When Elizabeth wished to disavow her odious privity to the death of Mary, she began her deceitful letter to the Scottish king (*m*): “ My
 “ *dear* brother; I woulde you knew the ex-
 “ treme dolor that overwhelmes my minde
 “ for that miserable accident.” A more capital objection, though not more strongly supported, still remains. “ *Dear Willam* is the
 “ pronounciation of a vulgar illiterate female of
 “ the present day (*n*).” Had the expression been *Will'm*, or *Wm*, it had been, without objection; because Shakspeare himself has written it in that contracted form. From such an objection, and such reasonings, the public accuser goes on to tell (*o*) us, how Lord

(*m*) *Ib.* 246: She repeats, “ You have not in the world
 “ a more lovinge kinswoman, nor a more *dear frende*, then
 “ myself.” Essex, writing to Elizabeth, begins: “ most
 “ *dear* and most admired lady.” [Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p.
 443; and see many more such *dear* expressions in the same
 book, p. 418, 430, 437.] Lady Leicester, writing to her
 son, the Earl of Essex, in 1598, concluded; “ your mother,
 “ *dearliest* loving you.” [*Ib.* 388.] One of the letters of
 the once fashionable EUPHUES to his *friend* LIVIA, began:
 “ *Deare* Livia, I am as glad to hear of thy welfare, as sor-
 “ rowful to understand thy newes.” [Lyly’s *Euphues*, 1581,
 p. 86.] Hamlet, writing to Ophelia, begins: “ O *dear*
 “ Ophelia;” and concludes: “ Thine evermore most *dear*
 “ lady.”

(*n*) Inquiry, 182.

(*o*) *Ib.* 181.

Southampton would have written, had he condescended to write to our poet. He can also tell us, no doubt, what would be of great importance to know, whether, when Lord Southampton condescended to box with Willoughby, he struck with his fist open, or shut; and, when he condescended to brable at tennis with Lord Montgomery, whether Lord Southampton fought with the racket, in his right hand, or his left. The Records in the Tower could not stand before arguments of such “*pith and puissance.*”

But, the public accuser, is now to give the last blow to this celebrated correspondence. He thinks it very *absurd* for Lord Southampton to call Shakspeare his dearest *freynd*, even had *this been the spelling* of the age: Here, again, he supposes what he ought to prove; but, what did not exist, the *uniformity of spelling* (p). In the same strain, he objects to the *conclusion*, “yours, Southampton.” But, I have already shown, that *yours* was a very common conclusion of letters before Lord

(p) Inquiry, 182. Had he looked, with more care, into Spenser’s *Three Proper Letters*, 1580, which he sometimes quotes, he would have seen, in p. 5, *frende*; in p. 31-33, *friend*; in p. 37, *freendes*; and in p. 61, *friende*: Here, then, are *four* varieties, which illustrate *the spelling of the age*; and reiterate the proof of its want of uniformity.

Southampton

Southampton was born, during the age, wherein he lived, and after his decease: And, I have also proved, that the mode of signature “with the Christian name (*q*) prefixed,” was neither hereditary in his family; nor the uniform practice of Lord Southampton himself. He fails, then, in his suppositions, and his proofs: And, he fails, therefore, in his objection to the conclusion of the letter; which is not objectionable, if practice form precedent.

He, at length, produces “two (*r*) letters, “written by Lord Southampton, the *only letters of his* known to be extant:” Had the public accuser produced these letters simply, and proved their authenticity; the inquiry, on this head, would have been greatly shortened: But, he is constantly contaminating truth, by some intermixture of fiction; which, as it cannot be admitted, because it is untrue, at once provokes remark, and calls for confutation. Why assert, that these are the only letters of Lord Southampton, which are known

(*q*) Inquiry, 184. Lord Southampton did not prefix his *Christian* name: he only prefixed the initial of it, according to Mr. Malone’s own showing; though I have produced a letter, which he did sign with his Christian name; besides, the *diversity* proves the *want* of *uniformity*.

(*r*) Inquiry, 185.

to exist, although this assertion is contrary to the fact; a fact, that I have already ascertained? Yet; I will not push him further on the point; as I am of opinion, that the never-to-be-forgotten epistles of Southampton, and Shakspeare, are spurious; a truth, of which I was early convinced, not by the proofs of the public accuser, but by the power of attorney from Lord Southampton, before-mentioned (s).

Such is the Apology, which the believers address, with *bland words*, to this equitable court. When the strength of the *General Argument* shall be compared with the feebleness of the *special* objections: when the violent presumption, arising from collateral circumstances, shall be opposed to the slight evidence, which the comparison of unknown hand-writing affords: The believers will humbly hope, that this court will allow the public accuser *to take nothing by his motion*. When he shall have reflected on this issue of his *bad pleading*, he may then cry out:—

“ Ha! Do I dream? Is this my hop’d success?”

“ I grow a statue, stiff, and *motionless*.”

(s) See before, page 135.

— § IV. —

SHAKSPEARE'S LETTER;

AND VERSES

TO ANNA HATHERREWAYE.

The public accuser, nevertheless, is resolved not to remain long in *his dream*. The confutation of his pleading, and the denial of his motion, only urge the activity of his perseverance. And he now plays off his former objections, with his accustomed logic, on the *Epistle*, and *Verses*, of the love-sick Shakspeare. That a youth of eighteen, who was born a poet, and who at that age fell in love, and married the object of his passion, should write a love-letter, and love-verses, to the goddess of his idolatry, the public accuser thinks very unnatural: and, being thus unlikely to happen, he infers, with the help of Venus, and her (*a*) son, that it is very improbable, such a lover should send such *love-shafts smartly from his bow*. Occupied as he is, with “all the “Loves and (*b*) Graces,” whom Mr. Malone invokes, the public accuser can never believe —

(*a*) Inquiry, 142.(*b*) Inquiry, 142.

“ These

- “ These antique fables, nor these fairy toys.
 “ Lovers, and madmen, have such seething brains,
 “ Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
 “ More than cool reason ever comprehends.
 “ The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,
 “ Are of imagination all compact.”

It is the logic of love, then, which ought to decide the fact as to “ these fairy toys ” of Shakspeare; the letter, the verses, and the lock of hair. Yet, doth the public accuser think it worth our inquiry, “ how far the “ lady here meant was entitled to this address, “ or how probable it was that this letter “ should ever reach her hands (c).” Shakspeare, by marrying the lady, has decided the point, in the affirmative: And, therefore, by every motive of love, by every principle of logic, by every rule of law, is the public accuser *estopped* from instituting such an inquiry, which, indeed, *cool reason can scarcely comprehend*. But, he perseveres; and affirms, with all the confidence of truth, that “ She had no title whatsoever to either “ of those names: she was christened plain “ *Anne*, and her name was not *Hatherrewaye*, “ as she is here absurdly called, but *Hathaway* (d):” Thus, applying the parish registers, as a decisive rule, for judging of

(c) Inquiry, 144.

(d) *Ib.* 144.

“ the lunatic, the lover, and the poet.” The said parish registers do not; however, record the baptism, or marriage of Anna Hatherre-waye, but the marriage of one Anne Hathaway, who, he himself allows, was a different lady; and who was unluckily destined to a very different husband (e).

But, of such inquiries, and such logic, there is no end! If it be true, that Shakspeare was born a poet; that Shakspeare's *genius was to itself a law*; is it not reasonable to infer, that such a poet, as Shakspeare, would, at the age of eighteen, read the writings of such a poet, as Spenser (f)? Who would controvert this conclusion, but sceptics? Shakspeare, then, must have studied the *Three Proper Letters* of Spenser, which are instructive, for their criticism, and dignified, for their sense. And, herein, Shakspeare, doubtless, saw Spenser's verses, “ To my good
“ Mistresse ANNE: the very lyfe of my lyfe,
“ and onely beloved mystresse :—

(e) *Ib.* 146.

(f) The controversy, with regard to *the learning* of Shakspeare, was decided, by a similar argument; by showing that, as there existed translations of the classics, which Shakspeare *might* read; so he *did* probably read them.

- “ Gentle Mistresse *Anne*, I am plaine by nature :
 “ I was never so farre in loue with any creature.
 “ Happy were your seruant, if hee coulde bee so Anned
 “ And you not vnhappy, if you shoulde be so manned.
 “ I love not to gloze, where I love indeede,
 “ Nowe God, and good Saint *Anne*, sende me good
 speede (*g*).”

Here, then, is the precedent for Shakspeare's epistle, and the archetype of his verses. To this theory, however, the public accuser has an objection at hand: If Shakspeare did not understand Latin, he could not translate the English *Anne*, into the Latin *Anna*. But, is it, in fact, a translated, or an original, name? Mr. Waldron will inform (*b*) us, indeed, “ that *Anna* is a *Latin* adoption of comparatively “ modern use;” [*Hebrew*, he should have said]. And, Mr. Malone will assure us that, “ to “ talk of ANNA *Hatherrewaye*, in 1582, is “ truly ridiculous (*i*).” He appeals to Lord Charlemont upon the point. The first rise, he adds, of the prevailing passion for sonorous Christian names is well remembered. The Lady Elizas, the Lady Matildas, and Lady Louisas, have now gained a compleat ascendancy; and a Lady Betty, or a Lady Fanny is hardly to be found (*k*): His position is, that

(*g*) Three Proper Letters, 1580, p. 43.

(*b*) Free Reflections, 10.

(*i*) Inquiry, 145.

(*k*) Id.

till within *time of memory*, the women of this country were not known by *poetical* names. Upon this position, I join issue with him. I maintain, that the ladies of our island were, in former times, distinguished, by names as *poetical*, as themselves were elegant. Such as: Gulielma, Milmetta, Philippa, Francisca, were their usual appellations (*l*). In the 5th of Stephen, *Lucia*, the Countess of Chester, was fined, in the Exchequer, that "She might do "right among her tenants (*m*)." *Joa*, the widow of William, the fusor, or melter, in the time of Henry 2, and Richard 1, "prof-
"fered ten merks, to have livery of the lands,
"and chattels of her husband;" but, she was too poor to pay the fine (*n*). Lady *Juliana Berners* wrote the "Boke of Hunting," at

(*l*) Camden's Remains, 86: And, among the *usual Christian* names of women, that great antiquary mentions *Anna*; signifying, *gracious*, or *merciful*. Ib. 77.

(*m*) Madox's Excheqr. vol. i. p. 397. This book contains many such names in those *olden* times: as, Mabilia, Sibylla, Wiverona, Abreda, Aeliza, Emma, Maria, Matilda, Roheifa, Helewifa, Gundreda, Constantia, Alicia, Hawifa, Cecilia, Ifolda; and many others of similar sound, who paid fines, for either marrying, or refusing to marry. And see Madox, vol. i. p. 463-4.

(*n*) Madox, vol. ii. p. 309: And, see Dugdale's Bar-
onage, every where, for such names.

the epoch of the invention of typography. Lady *Arabella* Steward was baptized, in 1578 (o). Spenser dedicated his *Daphnaide*, in 1591, to *Helena*, the Marchioness of Northampton. The Countess of Northumberland, who was the celebrated Earl of Essex's sister, was named *Diana*. I will now close my proofs, with regard to *the issue joined*, on this subject, by stating a fact, which will convince the reader, that *beyond time of memory*, very *sonorous* names were given to girls: —“ On the thirteenth of July 1616, was baptized, at Wimbledon, the Lady GEORGI-
 “ ANNA, the daughter of the Earl of Exeter;
 “ Queen Anne, and the Earl of Worcester,
 “ being witnesses (p).” The public accuser, therefore, fails, egregiously, in proving his position.

(o) Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 178: Yet, she always signed her name, *Arbella*, to her letters; as, indeed, she engraved her name on the walls of her prison, in the tower.

(p) Lysons's Environs, vol. i. p. 537: And see the marriage of Christopher Wraye, Esq. and *Aibinia* Cecil, in 1633. [Id.] Richard Burbadge, the celebrated comedian, *the fellow* of Shakspeare, named two of his daughters *Julia*, not *Juliet*, as Mr. Malone mistakingly asserts. John Florio, the lexicographer, who was eleven years older than Shakspeare, gave his only daughter the name of *Aurelia*.

But, he will, doubtless, be more successful, in his next challenge: "In plain prose the most diligent *researcher* will, I am confident, not discover a single *Anna* in the sixteenth century (*q*)." I accept of his challenge. I produce the *Bible*, printed by Barker, in 1583: "And there was a prophesse one *Anna*, the daughter of Phaniel (*r*):" Nor, is this a solitary instance, in *holy writ*: "Now, *Anna* fate in the way looking for her son," [Tobias.] (*s*). But, he will, no doubt, object to *the Bible*, as too figurative, and poetical, for *plain prose*. I will, therefore, offer a book of very plain prose, *Cooper's Thesaurus*, 1573, which Shakspeare may have seen: "*Anna*, a name of *Hebrue*, which signifieth *gracious*: *Anna*, also the name of a Goddesse, the daughter of Belus, and sister of *Dido*, *Queene of Carthage*." Whatever the public accuser may think of this book, I will close my proofs with an authority, which, he, of all objectors, will not dispute:

"Thou art to me as secret, and as dear,

"As *Anna* to the Queen of Carthage was (*t*).

He,

(*q*) Inquiry, 145.

(*r*) Luke, ch. ii. v. 36.

(*s*) Tobit, ch. xi. v. 5.

(*t*) Mal. Shakspeare, 1790, vol. iii. p. 263, *The Taming of the Shrew*. And see the *Contemplations* of Bishop Hall, who

He, however, thinks it very absurd in Shakspeare, to change the spelling of his sweetheart's name, from *Hatharway* to *Hatherrewaye*. But, is this more absurd, than for Lady Shrewsbury to alter the name of her (u) husband; or, for Shakspeare to vary the spelling of his own name, in the most solemn act of his life (v)? The fact is, there was, in

who was born in 1574, ten years after Shakspeare: "But, *Anna* shall find her husband's affection in her portion." [Prose Works, 998-9-1000.] A writer in the Gentleman's Mag. for May 1796, p. 364, has met with one *solitary* instance of *Anna*, in the parish-register of St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, an. 1613. He would have met with a thousand instances in the prerogative office.

(u) Lodge's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 168-9: She addressed her letter "To my lorde my husbände, the Erle of Shrowesbury:" She subscribed her letter: "Your faythefull wyffe, E. Shrowesbury." The *Erle* her *husbände* appears to have been uniform in writing his name *Shrewsbury*.

(v) The first brief of Shakspeare's will is signed *Shackspere*; the last, *Shakspeare*: His deed is signed *Shakspeare*. In Fenn's Letters, vol. iv. p. 166-7, may be seen *Boresper* for *Boarspeare*. In the *Vocabula Stanbrigij*, imprinted by Abraham Wele, without the year, but probably, in the reign of Hen. 8, may be found together "a *spere-staffe*; "a *speare*." In Norden's Surveyor's Dialogue, 1607, p. 206, he has *speare*. In Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 518—20—23, may be seen the monumental inscriptions of the Shakspeare family, which give *three varieties*: *Shakspere*,

in those times, no fixed attention to the uniform spelling of names: Barnaby Rych, gentleman, who had an office at court, in the dedication of his *Short Survey of Ireland* to the Earl of Salisbury, in 1609, calls him the Earle of *Sarisbury*, Lord High Treasurer of England. The author gives his own name, *Rych*, in the title-page; *Riche*, at the end of the dedication: and, he calls himself *Rich*, when he published, in 1622, *The Irish HUBBUB*. Like the English *Hue-and-cry*, the Irish *Hubbub* was originally instituted for the wisest purposes: But, before honest Barnaby Rych, Riche, or Rich, published his useful truths, in 1622, *the Hubbub* had degenerated, like *modern Inquiries*, into the raising of loud outcries, on slight pretences.

But, the public accuser is determined neither “to tire our patience, nor mislead our sense.” He merely *hesitates dislike* to the first two words of Shakspeare’s epistle; to *dearest*, as a

Shakespeare, and *Shakspeare*. In Fuller’s *Worthies*, p. 126, there are two varieties: *Shakespeare*; and *Shakespear*: And see the same book, ch. xvii. p. 51: “Of the often altering of surnames, and the various writing thereof:—“ Thus, I am informed,” says Fuller, “that the honourable name of *Villiers* is written *fourteen several ways*, in their *own evidences*.”

word (*w*) *uncommon*; and to *themselves*, “spelt “as one word, instead of two (*x*).” From verbal criticism, he comes, at length, to serious things: The public character of Queen Elizabeth; the general loyalty of her lengthened reign; and his own opinions of French politics (*y*). I will not contend with him.

(*w*) In confutation of this, I have already quoted Howard’s Col. p. 521: I will now add The History of Hawsted, p. 153, for a letter, in 1595, from Rebecca Pake; beginning “*Deare* mother.” And Essex began his letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated the 17th August 1597, “Most “*dear* lady.” [Birch’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 358.] To all these, I will subjoin from *The Enemy of Idleness*, 1621, “newly published and augmented,” p. 232, what “A lover writeth unto his lady: To expresse unto thee (my “*deere*) the inward griefes, the secret sorrowes, the pinching “paines, that my poore oppressed heart pittifully indureth, “my pen is altogether unable.” It is to be remarked, that this “*Enemy of Idleness*,” was set forth with the laudable design of “teaching a perfect platforme how to indite epistles “of all fortes.” This, then, is decisive upon the point; being doubtless the very precedent from which Shakspeare copied his love epistle to Anna Hatherrewaye.

(*x*). In reprobation of this, I have formerly quoted Henry 7th’s instructions to his agents, and their answers. See before, p. 102. I will here only add, that there is in the paper-office, Scots Correspond. N° 9, fol. 573, a letter from Lord Hunfdon, dated the 15th of August, 1569, to Lord Burghley, in which, *himselfe* is written, as *one word*; *themselves* is written, as *one word*; and *myself* is written, as *one word*.

(*y*) Inquiry, 148 to 154.

about what is inapplicable to the subject.

But, if the public accuser, to get at the boyish pertness of a rising poet, on the score of *loyalty*, and *liberty*, mean to say, or insinuate, that there was no *free* speaking, no *free* writing, and no *free* acting, in that reign, I will again join issue with him. Need I quote the black-letter sermons of the puritans, which swarmed from the press, during that age (z). Elizabeth had hardly been seated on her throne, when she was saluted with "The first blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women (a)." Buchanan soon after published his *De jure*, with the countenance of Burleigh, for a special purpose; though it contained the seed-plot of the French principles of the present

(z) See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 629; vol. iii. p. 572-3: And see, vol. i, a proclamation against *traiterous books*; and p. 575, a proclamation, commanding the loyalty of subjects, and the discovery of the seditious.

(a) Printed in 1558: The author wonders, "that none of the pregnant wittes of the Isle of Great Brittain should not admonish the inhabitants how abominable before God is the rule of a wicked woman; yea, of a *traîtreſſe*, and a *bastard*." What is Shakspeare's *bawble* to this *free* writing of Knox!

day,

day. Parsons, by the name of Doleman, published, in 1594, "A Conference about the next succession to the Crown of (b) England," with a dedication to the Earl of Essex, though it contained very *free* writing. —It is a fact, sufficiently known, that the two favourites of Elizabeth, Leicester, and Essex, countenanced, for their private ends, the seditious practices "of that ungracious crew, which faines demurest grace." Very different was the conduct of that mirror of chivalry, Sir Philip Sydney, who, when the dedication of *The School of Abuse* was offered him, rejected it with scorn (c). It was the *free* conduct of our dramatists, when Shakspeare was yet unknown to fame, that roused the attention of Elizabeth's ministers; and

(b) On my copy of this very rare book, there is the following manuscript note: "This book was condemned by parliament, an. 35 Eliz. when it was enacted, that whoever should have it in his house should be guilty of high treason. The printer was hanged, drawn, and quartered."

(c) This curious anecdote is mentioned by Spenser, in his *Three Letters*, 1580, p. 54. I repeat it with pleasure; because it adds another wreath to the chaplet on Sydney's brow.

required

required then, what has since been (*d*) called, a *licensing act*. It was to this remarkable circumstance, which occurred, while our poet was whetting his pen, that we probably owe much of the *correctness* of Shakspeare's dramas. Such are the facts, which exhibit a very different state of the *free principles*, and *free practices* of that reign, from the wild representations of the public accuser, who, in grouping his picture, has thrown a thousand shades about the truth.

The public accuser, however, brings Shakspeare's *barwble*; the *fools barwble*, into vivid light. Yet, does he doubt, whether the word

(*d*) The Lords of the privy council wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 12th of November 1589:—"That
 " whereas there hath grown some inconvenience by comon
 " playes and enterludes in and about the cyttie of London;
 " in [as much as] the players take uppon [them] to handle
 " in their plaies certen matters of *divinytie*, and of *state* un-
 " fitt to be suffered; for redresse whereof their lordships
 " have thought good to appointe some persons of judgment
 " and understanding to viewe and examine their playes be-
 " fore they be p̄mitted to p̄sent them publickly," &c.
 &c. Similar letters were at the same time written to the Lord Mayor of London, and, to the Master of the Revels; to co-operate in this necessary measure. [Council-register, 12 November 1589.] This curious, and important fact is, alone, sufficient to overthrow the whole reasoning of Mr. Malone, about the *free writing* of Shakspeare's epistles.

barwble

bawble had obtained, so early as the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the signification of any slight toy, gewgaw, or trifling piece of finery. Why doubts he, with the authority in his hand? I will show, without much research, that the word *bawble* was used, in its present sense, before Shakspeare was born. When the author of "A Schole of wise Conceytes," offered his work to the printer, in 1569, he objected, that the book contained nothing but what was in *Esoppe*, which "already englisht is." The author admits the publication of *Esoppe*, but answers; "comparing that with myne, "it is as neare, as easte to west; and droffe "to silver fine." The printer now compares the *Wise Conceytes* (*e*) with *Esoppe Englisht*, and at length finds therein, contrary to his first thoughts of it;—

" Besides uncomely tales,
 " And falsly forged fables,
 " Wherewith his book replenisht is,
 " Perceyve I many *bables*."

If this proof be not deemed satisfactory, I will produce an evidence, who shall speak decisively. Spenser knew the English language, the English language of his fathers: Now, he

(*e*) Written by Thomas Blage, student of Queen's Col. Cambridge; and printed by Binneman, in 1569. This is a rare, elegant, and instructive, book of fables.

says,

says, merrily, when commending virtue, fame, and wealth :—

“ Meere *gewegawes*, and *babes* in comparison of these.

“ Toyes to mock apes, and woodcockes, in comparison of these.

“ Jugling castes, and *knicknackes*, in comparison of these (*f*).”

And, in this obvious sense, Shakspeare speaks, in *Troilus and Cressida*, of “ shallow *barwble* “ boats ;” and in *Cymbeline*, of a letter, as “ a “ senseless *barwble*.” But, our poet talks of *barwble* in a more appropriate meaning ; of *barwble*, as “ *the fool's truncheon* of office.” The commentators, in explaining the nature of the office, and the utility of the thing, have bestowed all the cream of their learning. The public accuser, in elucidating the “ original “ barbarous term *baubellum*,” has served up only the skim milk of his knowledge. Historians, by repeating, inaccurately, the irreverent expression of Cromwell, for the speaker's mace, have brought the word, and the thing,

(*f*) The Three Proper Letters, 1580, p. 34. Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, Sig^r M 2, speaks thus of “ My “ Lord of Misrule's *cognizances* :” They have also certain papers, wherein is “ painted some *babblerie*, or other, of imagery work ; and these they call my Lord of Misrule's “ badges: These they give to every one, that will give money for them, to maintaine them in their heathenrie, divelrie, whordom, drunkenes, pride, and what not.”

more

more frequently before the reader's eye. It were worthy the diligence, and acumen of our critic to show, from whence Cromwell derived his knowledge of *the fool's bawble*. It was from Cambridge, that Cromwell had his knowledge, and use, of the expression: For, performing, there, the part of *Tactus* in Brewer's *Lingua*; or the *Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses*; Cromwell bore a part in the following scene, which will, probably, bring many reflections into the reader's mind (g).

“ [Tactus stumbleth at the *Robe and Crown*:—]

“ Tactus:—High thoughts have slipp'ry feet; I had well nigh fall'n.

“ Mendacio:—Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.

“ Tactus:—What's this?

“ Mendacio:—O, are you taken! Its in vain to strive—

“ Tactus:—How now?

“ Mendacio:—You'll be so entangled straight—

“ Tactus:—A *crown*!

“ Mendacio:—That it will be hard—

“ Tactus:—And a *robe*!

“ Mendacio:—To loose yourself.

“ Tactus:—A crown; and a robe!

“ Mendacio:—It had been fitter for you, to have found
a *fools-coat*, and a *bawble*; hey, hey!”

I have now proved my point, that the word *bawble*, was in use, in its present sense, before Shakspeare was born; and have, incidentally,

(g) See Doddsley's Old Plays, vol. v. p. 116-128.

shown the inutility of disquisition, and the impertinence of learning, when a *fact* can be ascertained by proof.

But, the public accuser is determined to fail no more. He thinks it a strong objection to the letter, that Shakspeare borrowed his sentiment of *charity* from himself. Upon other (*b*) occasions, our critic finds it a commodious method of illustration, to show the similarity of the poet's thoughts, and language, on different subjects. Yet, he resolves to cut down the *talle cedarre* of Shakspeare by the *fact*, "that there were no *cedars* in England till "after the Restoration (*i*)."
 "Where," then, he *pertinently* asks "could this image "have been presented to our Stratford "youth?" He immediately subjoins, "in "the Bible," or perhaps, "in some natural "history that will shortly be *brought forward*." Now, mark the potent efficacy of a plain tale against "the bookfull scholar, with "loads of learned lumber in his head." Willye says to Anna: "I cheryshe thee in mye one "hearte forre thou arte ass a talle cedarre

(*b*) See Mr. Malone's comments on Shakspeare's Sonnets, in his Supp. vol. i.

(*i*) Inquiry, 162.

"stretchynge

“ stretchyng forthe its branches ande suc-
 “ courneyng the smallere plants fromme nyp-
 “ pyng winneterre orr the boysterouse
 “ wyndes.” Shakspeare makes the king-de-
 throning Warwick say, when dying in the
 field, as the spelling has been modernized by
 the commentators (*k*):

“ Thus, yields *the* CEDAR to the axe’s edge,
 “ Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle;
 “ Under whose shade, the ramping lion slept;
 “ Whose top-branch overpeer’d Jove’s spreading tree,
 “ And kept low shrubs from winter’s powerful wind (*l*).”

(*k*) Mal. Shak. vol. vi. p. 373.

(*l*) In Henry 8th, Cranmer prophecies:

“ He shall flourish, and like a
 “ Mountain cedar, reach his branches
 “ To all the plains about him.”

[See Mal. Shak. vol. vii. p. 139.] When the *Gesta Gayorum*
 were exhibited at court, on Shrove Tuesday, 1594, “ The
 “ Impresses which the maskers used upon their escutcheons,
 “ for their devices, were: H. Helmes, Prince: In a bark of a
 “ CEDAR TREE, the character E engraven: *Crescetis*.” If
 there were no *cedar trees* in England, at Shrove-tyde, in
 1594, the prince of the maskers must, no doubt, have im-
 ported from other lands, the *bark* of the *cedar tree*, for the
 purpose of his device. In *The Phœnix Nest*, 1593, p. 2.
 we have the following lines:—

“ And that which was of woonder molt,
 “ The phœnix left sweete Arabic:
 “ And on a *cedar* in *this* coast,
 “ Built up her tombe of spicerie.”

The

The fact, then, precludes the inquiry, whether the *cedarre* were introduced into England before, or after, the Restoration; the *fact* answers the question, whether Shakspeare were gardener enough to know, what every nursery-man can tell, the benefit of shelter; how comfortably the *cedar*, “whose top-
“ branch over-peer'd Jove's spreading tree,
“ kept low shrubs from winter's powerful
“ wind.” If it be true, that Shakspeare *exhausted words, and then imagined new*, is it not equally true, that “self-glorious pride” ought neither to fatigue patience, nor excite ridicule, by minute inquiries, whether *the maker* derived his *images* from what existed in Britain, or on *the great globe itself*. The absence of the *cedarre tree* from Britain did not preclude satire, it seems, from saying, what *self-glorious pride* may repeat;

“ I know my ruder hands begin to quake,

“ To think what lofty CEDARS I must shake (m).”

The public accuser will, however, no more incur either the danger of ridicule, or the rebuff of confutation. He, at length, draws our attention (n) to the love-verses of *the lispng poet* “to the sweet nymph of Avon
“ fayre.” Yet, he stops his critical career, by inquiring, whether this be a love-sonnet, or

(m) Marston's Satires, 1599, N. iii. (n) Inquiry, 163.

the pofy of a (o) ring? Neither; Spenser will answer: It is "*Willye's Embleme* :—

" To be wize, and eke to loue,

" Is graunted scarce to God above (p)."

The public accuser sickens at the found: No more of this (q) *Namby - Pamby - stuff*, he cries,—

" ——— in sonorous strain,

" Walls, steeples, skies, bray back to him again."

Yet, he resolves to draw our attention to the rhythm of the first line; taking care to *create the fault*, which Shakspeare never committed, by lengthening *heav-enne*, with a *diastolic* hyphen. The critic appeals to the decision of Spenser: "Heaven being used short
" as one syllable, when it is in verse stretched
" [out] with a *diastole* is like a lame dog that
" holdeth up one leg (r)." I bow to the decision, and reverence the sense, of Spenser. A poet, who, contrary to *ordinarie* use, which

(o) Inquiry, 164.

(p) See Spenser's *Three Letters*, 1580, p. 38.

(q) Inquiry, 164: "I shall not therefore sicken your lordship with any more of this namby-pamby-stuff."

(r) Spenser certainly says this, but with more accuracy of language, orthography, and pointing, in his *Three Letters*, 1580, p. 6; but, in p. 54, Spenser treats "this imaginary *diastole* as nothing worth."

Spenser calls the *sovereign rule*, will lengthen a *monosyllable*, certainly merits reprobation: But, what does the critic deserve, who, contrary to the purpose of the poet, will stretch out the verse by a *diastole*? As a *lame dog*, he merits no *help over the stile*.

Let us, however, attend to the context of Spenser, where he gives his final judgment upon the point (*s*). “ Now for your *heaven*,
 “ *seaven*, *eleaven*, or the like; I am likewise
 “ of the same opinion: as generally in all
 “ words else: we are not to go a little farther,
 “ either for the *profody*, or the *orthography*,
 “ (and therefore your imaginariye *diastole* no-
 “ thing worthe) than we are authoris'd by
 “ the *ordinarie use*, and *custom*, and *proprietie*,
 “ and *idiome*, and, as it were, *majestie* of our
 “ *speech*; which I account the only infallible
 “ and *sovereign rule* of all rules: and there-
 “ fore, having respect thereunto, and reputed
 “ it petty treason to revolt therefrom: dare
 “ hardly eyther in the *profodie*, or in the *or-*
 “ *thography* either, allow them two fillables
 “ insteade of one, but would as well in writ-
 “ ing, as in speaking, have them used as
 “ monosyllables, thus: *heavn*, *seavn*, *aleavn*;
 “ as *Maister Ascham* in his *Toxophilus* doth

(*s*) *Ib.* p. 54.

“*yrne*, commonly written *Yron*.” — Thus much for the final decision of Spenser, against the public accuser. As I am now, probably, to take my leave of his *Three Proper Letters*, I will adopt what Pope applies to Boileau, on the same occasion ;

“ And, Spenser still, in right of Horace, sways (*t*).”

In our poet’s genuine compositions, says Mr. Malone, we never find any such *hobling metre* (*u*). You may find a thousand such *hobling metres*, if you will stretch out the verse by a *diastolic* hyphen. Let us take an example from Shakspeare’s sonnets :

“ O how I faint, when I of you do write;

“ Knowing a better spir-it doth use your name.”

Spirit, says Mr. Malone, in his note, is here, as in many other places, used as a *monosyllable* (*v*). In the same manner, I say, that *heavenne* in the first stanza of Shakspeare’s verses to Anna Hatherrewaye ought to be read as a *monosyllable*, if *ordinarie use* be the *sovereign rule*; and if Shakspeare himself hath

(*t*) Spenser quotes Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, in p. 44.

(*u*) Inquiry. 164.

(*v*) Sup. vol. i. p. 645.—Sir John Davis, in his *Noſce Teipſum*, 1599, p. 6-12-22, hath very often *spirit* [*sprite*] as a monosyllable: So has he *subtil* as a monosyllable, *subtle*. See before, page 46.

used *heaven*, monosyllabically, a thousand times; then must the criticism of the public accuser be,

“ As false, by *heaven*, as *heaven* itself is true.

But, with Shakspeare's epistles, in prose, and rhyme, I have now done. I will here submit to the equity of this court this *Apology* for the *believers*, in respect to both. On this occasion, it will easily be recollected, that the *general argument* concluded most favourably for the believers, “ if there be *truth* in *fight*.” On the other hand, the public accuser undertook, by particular investigations, to overthrow the strong presumption, arising from general reasonings. The poet, who early wrote “ A Lover's Complaint;” who was in habits of inditing verses of *Venus* and (*w*) *Adonis*; is considered, by the public accuser, as a very unlikely person to write love-epistles to *the Warwickshire lass*, whom he loved. I have examined, and I trust, confuted his objections. Nevertheless, seeing the *letter*, and *verses* of Shakspeare, in *suspicious company*, I will acknowledge, on behalf of the believers, that in future,

“ We must starve our fight from lover's food.”

(*w*) See Malone's Sup^t. vol. i. p. 403—739.

— § V. —

SHAKSPEARE'S PROFESSION OF FAITH.

Of this monument of Shakspeare's piety, the public accuser professes to "have very "little to (a) say;" judging, wisely, as he is in the habit of retraction, that *the least said is soonest mended*. Yet, he urges, though with less force, the *same objections*, which he had made to former documents: "The ortho-
"graphy; the language and phraseology;
"the dissimilitude of the *hand-writing*;" which, having been already considered, and confuted, need not be considered again, at more length, nor confuted, under this head of the inquiry, by new facts.

But, the public accuser recurs, nevertheless, to his old logic, supposing what he ought to prove, and arguing against experience, though such logic be contrary to all the rules of reasoning, which have been laid down, by every logician, from Wilson to Watts. In the same strain, he (b) objects, that though John Shakspeare made a confession of faith, in the reign of Elizabeth, it is improbable, William Shakspeare should make a profession of his faith,

(a) Inquiry, 196.

(b) Inquiry, 197-8.

in the reign of King James. He had himself produced to the public, in 1790, the confession of John Shakspeare, which was found in the *hiding-hole* of the house of Shakspeare. From the sentiment, and the language, this confession appears to be the effusion of a Roman Catholic mind, and was probably drawn up by some Roman Catholic priest (*c*). If these premises be granted, it will follow, as a fair deduction, that the family of Shakspeare were Roman Catholics; a circumstance this, which is wholly consistent with what Mr. Malone is now studious to (*d*) inculcate, viz. "that this confession could not have
 " been the composition of any of our poet's
 " family." The thoughts, the language, the orthography, all demonstrate the truth of my conjecture, though Mr. Malone did not per-

(*c*) As a specimen, let us take the beginning of this Declaration of faith, from Mal. Shak. vol. i. pt. 2. p. 330:—
 " In the name of God, the father, sonne, and holy ghost, the
 " most holy and blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, the
 " holy host of angels, patriarchs, prophets, Evangelists,
 " Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, and all the Celestial Court and
 " Company of heaven, I, *John Shakspeare*, an unworthy
 " member of the *holy Catholick Religion*, being," &c. and see still stronger terms in the conclusion of this protestation; *confession*, and charter, in p. 162-6.

(*d*) Inquiry, 198.

ceive this truth, when he first published this paper, in 1790. But, it was the performance of a *Clerke*, the undoubted work of the family priest. The conjecture, that Shakspeare's family were Roman Catholics, is strengthened by the fact, that his father declined to attend the corporation meetings, and was, at last, removed, from the corporate body (*e*). Yet, the public accuser (*f*) infers, "that it is extremely improbable that *all* the Shakspeare family should be *confessors* of their faith." Every other logician would infer, that if it had been the custom of the family, which was followed by the father, it is extremely probable, the same custom would be also followed by the son, who, at times, cannot conceal *his faith*, even in his dramas (*g*).

This

(*e*) The place too, the roof of the house, where this confession was found, proves, that it had been therein concealed, during times of persecution, for the "holy Catholick religion."

(*f*) Inquiry, 199.

(*g*) In the famous scene between the Ghost, and Hamlet, there are many strokes of a Roman Catholic pen. Shakspeare, apparently, through *ignorance*, says WARBURTON, makes *Roman Catholics* of these Pagan Danes: [Steevens's Shak. 1793. vol. xv. p. 72-5.] But, this is not so much an example of *ignorance*, as of *knowledge*, though perhaps not of

This reasoning is confirmed, by the consideration, that the reign of Elizabeth was a period of apparent (*b*) piety, and the reign of James 1st, an age of religious speculation. To avow particular modes of faith became extremely fashionable, during both those periods. It was, probably, by this fashion, that Lord Bacon, the prince of philosophers, was induced to draw up his *confession of (i) faith*;

his prudence, when the poet avows, covertly, indeed, his *own opinions*. In Othello, Shakspeare makes Æmilia say: "I should venture *purgatory* for't." The readers of Shakspeare will easily remember other expressions of a similar kind, which plainly proceeded from the overflow of Roman Catholic zeal. He is continually sending his characters to *shrift*, or confession: "Riddling *confession* finds but riddling *shrift*." "Bid her devise some means to come to *shrift* this afternoon." On the other hand, he is studious to show his contempt for *the Puritans*. In *Twelfth Night*; "Marry, Sir, he seems sometimes a kind of Puritan:" In *Winter's Tale*; "But, one Puritan among them, and he sings Psalms to hornpipes." The *religion* of our great dramatist, will, no doubt, fill a whole chapter of the *folio life* of Shakspeare, which will be, *certainly*, written, without *scoffs* at the opinions of other biographers.

(*b*) See Lord Burghley's *Profession of Faith*, in Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 334: And, Archbishop Parker's Profession of Faith, may be seen in Strype's Life of that Prelate, p. 500.

(*i*) Bacon's Remains, Ed. 1648, p. 94.

in order to please a monarch, who interested himself in religious theories. Bacon's *confession*, I presume, the public accuser will denominate a "mystical rhapsody;" without much consideration perhaps of the real meaning of the term, *mystical*, or much inquiry into the proper signification of the word rhapsody (*k*).

But, he has yet a stronger objection to Shakspeare's rhapsody, whether it be mystical, or literal. In order to convict it of fiction, the public accuser is studious to prove, "that it "has been evidently formed on holy writ (*l*).'" Whether he learned this mode of reasoning from Crakanthorp, Wallis, or Aldrich, may require some explanation (*m*). Every Christian rhetorician would reasonably infer, that a confession of faith, which has been formed on holy writ, is probably genuine in its declaration, and true in its doctrine.

The public accuser is, nevertheless, determined to overthrow general reasoning, by spe-

(*k*) Queen Elizabeth's *Prayer*, for the success of the expedition against Cadiz, in 1596, which was sent by Mr. Secretary Cecil to Essex, may be seen in Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 18. This, I presume, will also be called a *mystical rhapsody*.

(*l*) Inquiry, 200.

(*m*) See the Inquiry, 196.

cial investigation. He repeats an objection, which had been already made by others, to the epithet *leffee*, as applied to a tree, when trees are denuded of their foliage: But, there are, in Shakspeare, as great wonders as "this unfortunate epithet." The Queen exclaims, in Richard 3d:—

"Why grow the branches, when the root is gone?"

"Why wither not the leaves, that want their sap?"

In this strain of minute criticism, he (n) inquires, "whence the absurd introduction of a *chicken* for the *mother-bird*." Whence, but from the creative faculties of the poet's mind? What is a poet, if you deprive him of his *fictions*, and his *fancies*? Why does Shakspeare, in *Timon of Athens*, make the *Fool* answer the friends of *Timon*, though they were, probably, *parental birds*: "She's e'en setting on water to scald such *chickens* as you are."

But, the public accuser conceives it a waste of time to detain his noble correspondent any longer, when he has (o) added, "that the word *hymselfe* is exhibited as *one word*; and "the word *acceded* is found in it." Had he taken the trouble to look into *Cooper's Thesaurus*, 1573, he would have seen the word

(n) Inquiry, 201.

(o) Inquiry, 202.

hymselfe printed, as one word, a thousand times; as I have already shown the word *theymselfe* was written, before Shakspeare was born (p). Thus, “he draweth out the thread
“ of his verbosity finer than the staple of his
“ argument.”

Yet, in this spirit of minuteness, the public accuser perseveres, in spinning many a thread of similar fineness. And, he insists, that the *nonexistence* of the word *accede* in the English language, for *a century after the death of Shakspeare, in 1616, is decisive*, in proving the spuriousness of *Shakspeare's Confession* (q). Happy! had his proof been equal to his positiveness. The diplomatic word *accede* is so recent, he says, that Johnson gives no example of its use. As lexicographers some-

(p) In Sir John Davis's *Nosce Teipsum*, 1599, p. 27, may be often seen *himselſe*, printed, and written, as *one word*:

“ Which *himselſe* makes, in bodies formed new.

“ Which *himselſe* makes of no *material* thing.”

Here, the rhythm forbids the disjunction of *him-selfe*, and requires the accent on the first syllable; so as to give a brevity of pronunciation to the *word*. *Hymselfe* may be seen often printed by Wynken de Worde, as one word, in the *Fruytfull Sayenges of Dauyd*, 1529: So is *themselfe* printed in it, as one word, for *themselves*:—“ Suche as gyve *themselfe* to wordly
“ voluptyes may well faye.” And see *himselſe* printed, as one word, in Lyly's *Euphuës*, 1581, p. 20^b. and 53^b. &c.

(q) Inquiry, 202—4.

times

times quote one another, he might have cited De Foe's Dictionary, 1735. Kersey has not this uncommon word, it seems, in his Dictionary, 1708, after all the speaking, and writing, about treaties, in preceding times. Nor, is it in Coles, nor Phillips; in Bullokar, nor Barret; in Blount, nor Minsheu. He cannot ascertain the epoch of its introduction; yet, is he (*r*) positive, that the word was unknown to our language for near a century, after the use of it in Shakspeare's *Confession*. On the other hand, it must be admitted, that the word *accede* has been long in our language: and, the only question is, when did it come into use? He supposes, indeed, what cannot be allowed, because it is inconsistent with truth, that our dictionaries contain every word, in the vast volume of our learning, whether *white-letter*, or *black-letter*. Johnson's Dictionary is, like every other dictionary, a mere selection; nor does any preceding word-book contain a more copious collection than his: Yet, the public accuser insists that, because he cannot find a word, on the "blasted heath" of our lexicography; it, therefore, does not exist in our libraries, either in print, or in manuscript. But, in the vo-

cabulary of Mr. Malone a *selection* means a *collection*: And, in his logical dictionary, failure of proof stands for fulness of probation; whence *something*, contrary to the system of nature, may be deduced from *nothing*. Very different, indeed, is the poetical reasoning of Davis:—

“Of *nought*, no creature ever formed *ought* :

“For, *that* is proper to the *Almightie's* hand (s).”

The *almightie* critic's inanity of reasoning, I will oppose with *facts*. It is remarkable, says he, “that Edward Philips, [Phillips] Milton's nephew, who was a *good scholar*, has not the word [accede] in his dictionary, though he has the kindred word *concede*; and, what shews decisively,” he adds, “that the word [accede] did not exist, when he published his book, (1659) is, he explains the two law writs *Accedas ad curiam*, and *Accedas ad vice-comitam* (t).” Let us illustrate

(s) *Nosce Teipsum*.

(t) Inquiry, 202-3. For an account of Edward *Phillips*, as he spelt his own name, see Wood's *Ath.* vol. ii. c. 1116. Blount, the author of the *Law Dictionary*, 1670, complains of the *plagiarism* of Phillips; and Skinner, who wrote the *Etymologicon*, accuses him of *ignorance*. Now, the fact is, that these two *law-writs* were not in Phillips's *first* edition, 1658: But, they were inserted in his *second* edition,

illustrate this reasoning, by the example of the two kindred words; *access*, and *accessible*: Naunton, in writing to Effex, from Paris, in 1597, tells him "that no man shall have "*access* to the King," [Henry 4th]: But, writing soon after, Naunton informs Effex, "that the King is grown more *accessible* (*u*)."
Barret has, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, the word *accesse*; but not *accessible*; Minshew has the word *accesse*, in his *Guide into the tongues*, 1617; but not *accessible* (*v*). Now, were the inquiry, whether the word *accessible* existed at that period, in the English language, the answer must be, according to Mr. Malone's logic, that *accessible* did not exist, in the age of Shakspeare: But, the *fact*, thus

edition, which gave rise probably to Blount's complaint. The *third* edition was published, in 1671. Had there been a question, in 1658, whether those two *law writs* existed then, in the language of our law, it would have been a decisive argument, according to Mr. Malone's reasoning, to insist, that they had no existence, in our law; because they were not to be found in Phillips's *World of Words*, in 1658. This *title* was plainly taken from Florio: What Phillips stole from Blount, I pretend not to know.

(*u*) See Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 71—83, for the curious letters from Sir Robert Naunton to the Earl of Effex, of which Queen Elizabeth thought highly.

(*v*) Minshew inserted *accessible* in his *second* edition, 1627.

strongly

strongly opposed, from *the use* of the word by Naunton, in 1597, overpowers the argument of the public accuser.

In this correspondence, between Naunton, and Essex, may be seen a variety of phrases, which, as they are not to be found in *word-books*, establish the position, that words may exist in our language, although they do not appear in our dictionaries. As the subject is curious for its information, and the deduction from it bears upon the INQUIRY; I will illustrate the argument, by giving a few examples from the erudite *Letters* of Naunton: Ingeminated; *tickle-state* of things; *tickle-piece* of service; *ostentative* humour; *weary-somely* longed for; *jejune conjecturals*; *clear-lier* see; *refavourizing*; *disconceit*; *palinodizing* in his resolutions; *new ambience*; *intermediation*; *disdennd* out of (*w*) Ronen; *uncircumspection*; *detrected*; *discorrespondence*: Such, among others, were the words, which were used by Naunton, when writing to Essex, for the fight of Elizabeth; and which have not been adopted by our lexicographers. Lord Burghley has the fine word *expugnable*; which is not adopted by Johnson, though he

(*w*) Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 68—72—73—94—83—89—90—93—95—97—266—303—449.

has *expugn*. Old Lady Bacon, the learned widow of the Lord Keeper, writing an expostulatory epistle to Lord Essex, on account of his gallantries with a married lady, in Elizabeth's court, complains of the frail fair one's "*unshamefacedness*," of her, "*unwifelike*," "and unshamefaced demeanor (*x*)."
 Lady Bacon is a great authority; for she was one of the learned daughters of Anthony Coke; and her epistle exhibits scriptural reference, and both classical quotation, and allusion. It would be a wearisome task, indeed, to compare the vast volume of Raleigh, and the innumerable writings of Bacon, with our dictionaries; in order to establish more strongly the position, that ten thousand words exist in our language, which have not been collected into our vocabularies. A few words shall, however, be given from Petty's "*Advice to Hartlib for the Advancement of (y) Learning*;"

(*x*) This curious letter, which is in Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 218, was written with such force of argument, and energy of expression, as to leave Essex no other answer, than to *deny the fact*; though the whole court had been witnesses, of the *unshamefacedness* of the Earl, and the *unwifelike* demeanor of the Lady.

(*y*) It was published in 1648; and see the words quoted, in p. 4—6—20.

as the conviction of examples will then be added to the reasonableness of my position : *Unpreoccupied* in children ; *educands* to be taught by the *educators* ; *Mæcenates* and patrons ; *navarchy* and making ships ; *lucriferous* ; *luciferous* (z) : If, then, the question were, whether those significant words existed, when that original genius, Petty, made use of them, the answer of our critical theorist must be, that they did not exist, in our language ; because he cannot find them, in our dictionaries.

Johnson was probably the first of our lexicographers, who relished the beauties of Shakspeare's phraseology, and enriched his dictionary, by adopting its bullion : Yet, how much so ever he borrowed ; it is astonishing how much he left behind ; either unclaimed by choice, or unadopted by accident. If a VOCABULARY of the words, which sparkle in Shakspeare's dramas, and yet are not found to dignify Johnson's dictionary, were submitted to the reader's eye, it would surprise those, who have indulged themselves in supposing, that our whole language may be seen in our word-books ; and would perhaps furnish

(z) Kersey has, indeed, *Lucriferous*, in his word-book ; yet, Johnson did not think fit to insert it in his dictionary.

cause of circumspection to confidence, if it did not teach a lesson of humility to arrogance. Such a VOCABULARY I have actually made; consisting of more than a thousand words: It might have been enlarged, if it had been consistent with my present purpose; but this VOCABULARY is sufficiently copious, to shame sophistry into silence (a).

I was

(a) I will here subjoin a short specimen of my VOCABULARY of words, which are in Shakspeare's dramas, but not in Johnson's dictionary; as it is curious from its novelty; and is a striking example of the extreme fallibility of negative proofs, which abound so much in Mr. Malone's Inquiry:

A-hold: "Lay her ahold, ahold." [The Tempest.] To lay the ship *ahold* is to bring her to the wind. This word is not in Johnson. [I constantly quote, or allude to, the 6th edition of the dictionary, in 1785, 4to.]

Airbraving: "Who in a moment, even with the earth
" Shall lay your stately and *airbraving* towers."
[Henry IV.]

Apebearer: "He hath been since an *apebearer*." [Winter's Tale.]

Arabian: "O! thou *Arabian* bird." [Anthony and Cleopatra.]

Archmock: "Oh! 'tis the spight of hell, the fiend's *Arch-*
" *mock*." [Othello.]

Artsman: "*Artsman*, præambula; we will be singled from
" the barbarous." [Love's Labour Lost.] Johnson has *artisan*, and *artist*.

Assemblance: "Care I for the bulk and big *assemblance* of
" a man."

I was led into this wide survey of Johnson's adoptions from Shakspeare, which might have been

"a man." [Henry IV.] Johnson has *assemblage*, from Locke; and from Thomson: "In soft *assemblage* listen to my song."

Assinego: "An *Assinego* may tutor thee." [Troilus and Cressida.]

Bacchus: "Love's power proves dainty *Bacchus* gross in taste." [Love's Labour Lost.] "Plumpy *Bacchus* with pink eye." [Anthony and Cleopatra.] Johnson has bacchanalian and bacchanals: He often quotes from Milton, and Pope, and even from the minor poets, what he might have seen in Shakspeare; and thereby has done a slight wrong to our dramatist, to whom all subsequent poets have been much indebted.

Bemil'd: "How she was *bemil'd*." [Taming of the Shrew.]

Bemete: "Or I shall so *bemete* thee with thy yard." [Id.]

Beseek: "I *beseek* you now; aggravate your choler." [Henry IV.] Johnson has *beseek*.

Bewhor'd: "My lord hath so *bewhor'd* her." [Othello.]

Boneache: "Incurable *boneache*." [Troilus and Cressida.]

Buttschaft: "Cupid's *buttschaft* is too hard for Hercules's club." [Love's Labour Lost.]

Cacodemon: "Hie thee to hell, for shame; and leave this world, thou *Cacodemon*." [Richard III.]

Cankerblossom: "Oh me! you juggler; oh, you *cankerblossom*; you thief of love." [Midsummer Night's Dream.]

Cannakin: "And, let me have a *cannakin* clink." [Othello.]

been more numerous, without any impeachment of the lexicographer's judgment; in order

Codshead: "To change the *codshead* for the falmon's-tail." [Othello.]

Costermonger: "Virtue is so little regarded in these *costermonger* times, that true valour is turn'd bear-heard." [Henry IV.]

Custardcoffin: "Why; thou sayst true: It is a paulty cap, a *custardcoffin*, a *bauble*, a *filken pye*." [Taming of the Shrew.]

Deedachieving: "By *deedachieving* honour newly nam'd." [Coriolanus.]

Denotement: "Given up himself to the *denotement* of her parts, and graces." [Othello.]

Directitude: "Durst not shew themselves his friends, whilst he's in *directitude*." [Coriolanus.]

Dispunge: "The poisonous damp of night *dispunge* upon me." [Anthony and Cleopatra.]

"*Dizzy-ey'd* fury." [Henry VI.]

Dotant: "Or with the palfy'd intercession of such a *de-cay'd dotant* as you seem to be." [Coriolanus.]

Dovedrawn: "I met her deity, cutting the clouds towards Paphos, and her son *dovedrawn* with her." [Tempest.]

Eaningtime: "The ewes did, in *eaningtime*, fall party-coloured lambs." [Merchant of Venice.]

Eanlings: [Id.]

Earkissing: "They are yet, but *earkissing* arguments." [Lear.]

"*Earpiercing* fife." [Othello.]

Earwax: "But, he hath not so much brain, as *earwax*." [Troilus and Cressida.]

"*Enfreedoming* thy person." [Love's Labour Lost.]

der to enable every mind to judge of the inefficacy of *negative proofs*, for the establishing of
negative

Engilds: "Who, more *engilds* the night, than all yon fiery
" o's and eyes of light." [Midsummer Night's
Dream.]

Engoal'd: "Within my mouth, you have *engoal'd* my
" tongue." [Troilus and Cressida.]

Enlard: "That were to *enlard* his fat-already pride."
[Troilus and Cressida.]

Ensky'd: "I hold you as a thing *ensky'd* and fainted."
[Measure for Measure.]

Esil (*Eysel*): "Woo't drink up *esil*." [Hamlet.] *Eysel*,
says Mr. Steevens, is vinegar, which is a good pre-
ventive against infectious disorders, says Mr.
Malone.

Fairfac'd league. [King John.]

Fairplay: "According to the *fairplay* of the world."
[Id.]

Fantasticoes: "The pox on such antick, lisp-
" ing *fantasticoes*." [Romeo and Juliet.]

"*Flemish* drunkard." [Merry Wives of Windsor.] The
following passage from "The Libell of English
" Policie of keeping the sea," which was written,
in the reign of Henry VI. and was first printed in
Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598, vol. ii. p. 192, is at
once a defence, and an illustration of Shakspeare,
by showing the grossness of the Flemings, in pre-
ceding times:

"Ye have heard that two Flemings togider,
" Will undertake, or they go any whither,
" Or they rise once to drink a firkin full
" Of good *beerekin*; so sore they hall and pull;

negative inferences; to decide, whether something can be deduced from nothing; and to

“ Under the board, they pissen, as they fit;

“ This cometh convenient of a worthe wit:

“ Without CALAIS, in their butter they cakked,

“ When they fled home, and when they leisure lacked.”

“ *Foolsbolt* (a) is soon shot.” [Henry V.]

Foolthead: “ Did I deserve no more than a *foolthead*.”

[Merchant of Venice.]

Foolspáradise: “ If you should lead her into a *foolspáradise*.” [Romeo and Juliet.]

Forehorse: “ I shall stay here the *forehorse* to a smock.”

[All's Well.]

“ *Foreweary'd* in this action of swift speed.” [King John.]

“ *Faulspoken* coward.” [Titus Andronicus.] Johnson has foulmouthed.

Free way: “ I do beseech you, let her will have a *free*

“ *way*.” [Othello.]

Frosty spirited: “ What a *frosty spirited* rogue is this.”

[Henry IV.]

“ *Full acorn'd* boar.” [Cymbeline.]

“ *Furnace-burning* heart.” [Henry VI.]

Here, will I close this note, which is already too long. In the same manner, I could have gone through the whole alphabet, and very much enlarged the number of examples. But, having proved my point, by showing the fallibility of negative proofs, I will knit up my *Vocabulary*, by avowing my sincere admiration of Johnson's invaluable work; whilst I am showing, by the investigation of facts, that his dictionary is rather a *selection*, than a *collection* of the English language. And, as his plan did not thus allow him to adopt every word in Shakspeare's dramas, it is inconsistent with his plan, and with the fact, to draw conclusions from his silence.

estimate,

estimate, whether *non-entities* ought to be deemed equal, in critical examination, to positive premises. But, of such logic we have surely enough! I will acknowledge, however, that when a careful search has been made, by an attentive eye, in the most voluminous of our dictionaries, a suspicion will arise, that the word, which has been looked for, without success, may, *possibly*, not exist in our language.

A person, who is accused of forgery, comes into court with every presumption in his favour; with every probability of innocence, for his protection; with every inducement, under a want of proof, for his acquittal: But, the public accuser, by supposing what he ought to prove; by finding *non-entities* in the barrenness of lexicography, he raises a suspicion only, that the accused may *possibly* be guilty; and, "all proofs sleeping else, but what his jealousies awake," he then prays for judgment; as if *guilt* were to be the result of *jealousy*, and conviction were to be the consequence of his own failure in proof. "I will fight with him upon this theme, until my eyelids will no longer wag."

It was in this confidence, that he laid the

whole stress of *the issue*, on the *non-existence* of the word *accede*, when Shakspeare made his *profession of faith*. The public accuser is quite positive, that the word *accede* did not exist in our language, during that age (*b*). But, I will, on this occasion, oppose his *negative* proofs by *positive* evidence. The *fact* is, notwithstanding this positiveness of dogmatism, that the word *accede* did exist, during the age of Shakspeare. Florio found this word *accede*, in 1611, though Coles did not adopt it, in 1679. In *Queen Anna's New World of*

(*b*) Mr. Malone is decidedly of opinion that, because Coles did not insert the word *accede* into his Latin dictionary, 1679, this negative circumstance is an *unquestionable proof*, that this word was then unknown. [Inquiry, 204.] He regards the not finding of a word in dictionaries, as a *decisive evidence of forgery*, in the document, which may contain such a word. [Id.] He admits, however, in the Inquiry, 258, ‘the impossibility of proving an universal negative;’ but, he insists, that he has brought evidence enough to satisfy reasonable inquirers of the truth of his negative position, till those, who differ with him, prove the existence of the contested words. No; Sir, you have no right to call upon others to help you out with your proofs: You undertook to establish a forgery: Now, it is quite sufficient for your opponents, to plead not guilty: And, it is your duty, as the public accuser, to support the accusation, by your own proofs, or an acquittal, with its usual consequences, must be the result; whether we decide, according to common law, or common sense.

Words,

Words, 1611, there is "*accédere*; to ACCEDE; " to approach, or have access unto; also to "*assent unto*:" Now, here is *accede*, found in this *New World*, at the very time, and in the very sense, of Shakspeare. The public accuser fails, then, in proving his issue; he fails in his negative proof; and he fails, consequently, in establishing his fundamental position, for proving decisively the spuriousness of Shakspeare's profession, that the word *accede* was not adopted into the English language, for a century, after Shakspeare's death.

If, moreover, a *negative* could possibly be opposed to an *affirmative*, Coles is not so good an authority, as Florio, who had more genius, more learning, and more research (c). It was,

(c) Of Florio, it is to be observed, that he was not a foreigner, who might be supposed to have collected his *English*, at second hand. He was born in London, about the year 1553, of Italian parents, indeed, who, being *Waldenses*, sought refuge in England, during the reign of Henry VIII: But, they returned again to the continent, during Mary's persecutions. Florio received his *puerile* education abroad. They all came back to England upon the accession of Elizabeth. Florio, for a time resided at Oxford, as we learn from Anthony Wood, who gives an imperfect account of him. Thither, he attended Mr. Barnes, the Bishop of Durham's son, in 1576, as his tutor for the French, and Italian: And, *wearing a gown*, he was matriculated, as a member of Emanuel

was, indeed, to be expected by those, who look on the analogies of language, with discerning

Emanuel College, in 1581; and taught scholars in the university, when he was eight and twenty years of age. The *maidenhead of his industry*, he dedicated to the *renowned Leicester*, in 1578; expecting patronage, which he never experienced; This was probably his *First Frutes*, which were adapted to *the use of such as were but meanly entered in the Italian tongue*. He published his *Second Frutes*, in 1591. He enjoyed a pension for some years before he published his *World of Words*, in 1598, from Lord Southampton. He published a translation of *Montaigne's Essays*, in 1603. But, a better prospect now opened to his sight. At the accession of King James, Florio was appointed reader of the Italian language to Queen Anne, and one of the gentlemen of her privy chamber. I have seen a document in the paper-office, which shows, that he had, for those appointments, £.100 a year; as Samuel Daniel, the poet, whose sister he married, had annually £.60, as a gentleman of her privy chamber. In 1611, he published his *New World of Words*, newly much augmented, to which was prefixed a *print* of the author, in a very gorgeous dress. Retiring to Fulham, to avoid the plague, which then raged in London, he was, however, carried off by it, says A. Wood, in 1625. After great deliberation, he made his will, which he wrote with his own hand, and is dated the 20th of July 1625. He calls himself John Florio, of Fulham, Esquire. He laments that he was able, from his poverty, to leave so little to his wife Rose, whom he made his executrix, and to his daughter Aurelia, who had married James Molins: Yet, he bequeathed to William Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, “all his Italian, French, and Spanish, books, as well printed, as unprinted, being

cerning eyes, that *accede* would be adopted into the English tongue, as early as the kindred words *access* and *accessible*, *secede* and *succeed*, and *recede*, which is the very contrary of the truant *accede*. But, as *the fact* is now settled, all subsequent reasoning, upon the point, is vain. And, I will here close my examination of the public accuser's objections to *Shakespeare's Profession of Faith*; whereby I have shewn, that *the objection* is still far from *the decision*.

Such is the *Apology*, which, on this head of the Inquiry, I submit to the equity of this court. It will be readily remembered, that the public accuser undertook to overturn the general argument for the believers, by special objections, although *the profession of faith* is strongly supported by external evidence. I

“ being in number about three hundred and forty, including
 “ his new and perfect dictionary, his dialogues in Italian
 “ and English, and his unbound volume of divers written
 “ collections and rhapsodies; and entreated his lordship, as
 “ he once promised, to accept of them, as a token of affec-
 “ tion, and for the testator's sake, to place them in his li-
 “ brary either at Wilton, or else at Baynard's Castle, in Lon-
 “ don.” This will was proved by his executrix, in the
 prerogative office, on the 1st of June 1626: From this fact,
 I suspect, that Florio deceased in the preceding month. He
 died at the age of seventy-three, if we calculate from the date
 on the print of him.

have

have cross-examined his special objections, which I have shown, I trust, to be unsupported by argument, and inconsistent with facts: He has failed, then, in his pleadings. And being thus *wrong* by *system*, and merely *right* by *accident*, I humbly hope, that this court will allow him to take nothing by his motion. A contrary decision would only furnish report with an occasion, and a cause, *to fruit*:—

“ ——— So shall you hear

“ Of *accidental judgements*, casual slaughters,

“ Of deaths put on by cunning, and *forc'd cause*.”

— § VI. —

THE MISCELLANIES.

The public accuser has not hitherto, as we have seen, *taken any thing, by any motion*; under any head of his *Inquiry*. Yet, he is not discouraged. He perseveres, in his old modes of logical probation, with the pertinacity, which the best success generally inspires in other minds: thinking, no doubt, that,—

“ ——— *Perseverance* keeps honour bright:

“ To have done, is to hang quite out of fashion,

“ Like rusty mail, in monumental mockery.”

In this temper, he continues to make such objections to *the Miscellaneous Papers*, as having been already confuted, need not be again considered: Who, but Alexander, would *fight his battles o'er again; thrice to slay the slain!* The public accuser, however, persists, in supposing what he ought to prove; in substituting assertions for proofs; and in drawing inferences, when he ought to establish premises. In this manner, he finds *the notes of hand, and receipts*, “so replete with absurdity and incongruity, that it is scarce worth while to examine them (a).”

But, he does think it worth while to examine the *hand-writing* of Shakspeare, on *the Receipts*; and “to enter into a minute detail respecting the spelling of his name (b).” He goes into this minute criticism, notwithstanding his own declaration, when he examined the same point, in 1790. Before that epoch, much had been written, “relative to the proper mode of spelling Shakspeare’s name:” But, a *mortgage*, which had been given by our poet, in 1613, was, luckily, discovered, in 1768. When Mr. Malone saw Shakspeare’s subscription to that deed, he

(a) Inquiry, 116.

(b) Id.

cried out, in a decisive tone: "It is hoped
 " we shall hear no more *idle babble* upon this
 " subject. He spelt the name himself as I
 " have just now written it, without the mid-
 " dle *e*. Let this therefore for ever decide
 " the question (c)." But, *idle babble* seems
 to be a perennial spring; which continually
 throws up bubbles, and froth, and fume, ac-
 cording to the season. Inspired by the ex-
 halations of this fountain, he is now deter-
 mined, that the question, about Shakspeare's
 name, shall never be decided. And, he, ac-
 cordingly, employs several pages to prove, that
 his decision, in 1790, ought to be reversed,
 and the question re-argued, in 1796.

I too have attentively examined the ori-
 ginal will of Shakspeare, which consists of
 three *briefs*. Each of these *briefs*, or sheets,
 is apparently subscribed by him, though in a
 very different manner. Nor, is there any
 thing, in the mode of these signatures, more
 obvious to an accurate eye, than their com-
 plete dissimilarity. The baptismal name is
 dissimilar; the surname is dissimilar: In the
 first brief, there is William, in the second,

(c) Mal. Shakspeare, 1790, vol. i. part i. p. 192.

Willm,

Willm, and in the third William (*d*): In the first brief, there is Shackspere, in the second, Shakspe re, and in the third Shakspeare. The W in William, in the three several signatures is quite different; the second *s* in Shakspeare is written differently, being a long *f* in the second brief, and a short *s* in the last; and the *r* is not exactly similar in the three several signatures. The scrivener, who wrote this never-to-be-forgotten will, spelt the testator's name Shackspere. When the testator subscribed his name, for the *last time*, he plainly wrote Shakspeare. And, the monumental inscriptions of his family exhibit three varieties; Shakespeare; Shakespere; and Shakspeare (*e*). Yet, Mr. Malone, with all those documents before him, infers from the *single autograph of one deed*, amidst *so many varieties*, "that his own [Shakspeare's] orthography of his name is ascertained, beyond a possibility of doubt, to have been "Shakspere (*f*):" And, he adds, as a *necef-*

(*d*) The mortgage, which is published in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part i. p. 19, is signed *W^m Shakspe^r*: The conveyance published in Mal. Inquiry, 402, is subscribed *William Shaksper*.

(*e*) Dugdale's Warwick, p. 518, 520.

(*f*) Inquiry, 120.

*

fary

fary consequence, although we have now before us *five signatures*, which are *all different* from each other, “ that these papers, in which a
 “ different orthography is almost uniformly
 “ found, cannot but be a forgery (g).” He thinks, in opposition to the last signature, which the poet ever made, that he wrote *Shakspeare*: Yet, does the public accuser avow his purpose to give his reasons hereafter, why he will continue to spell the name of our dramatist *Shakspeare*. Let us, however, hope; with Mr. Malone, in 1796, “ to hear no more
 “ idle babble upon this subject,” in opposition to Mr. Malone, in 1796 (b). “ Where much
 “ *babbling* is there must needs be offence; and
 “ he that restraineth his lips is wyse (i).”

(g) Inquiry, p. 121-2.

(b) See the annexed plate of the *five* genuine signatures of *Shakspeare*, which I caused to be engraved; in order to enable every reader to form his own opinion from his own inspection. The signature on the second sheet of the will is engraved together with the word *the* of the *preceding line*; for the purpose of showing how *Shakspeare* was prevented from inserting *some letter* before the final *re*. The reader may be assured that these signatures are very perfect *fac-similes*.

(i) See *The pithy and moost notable sayings of al scripture gathered by Thomas Paynel*. Imprinted by Copland for Jugg, without the yere.

But,

Five genuine Autographs of Shakspeare.

N°1

W^m Shakspeare

2

William
Shakspeare

3

William
Shakspeare

4

William Shakspeare

5

By me William Shakspeare

N°1. is from Shakspeare's Mortgage 1612-13.

2. is from Mr. Malone's plate II. N°X.....

3. is from the first brief of Shakspeare's Will.

4. is from the second brief of the Will.....

5. is from the third brief of the Will.....

From the ... of the ...

17

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

But, the public accuser will, perhaps, be more happy, on some other occasion. “Those,” he (*k*) says, “are but trifling objections to the manner in which the sums are here specified, I mean in *Arabick numerals*; a mode which those who have the slightest knowledge of former times know not to have been the practice of that age.” Upon this important point of our archæology, he is as positive as the earth is firm. Yet, will I join issue with him upon it, for the vindication of the truth.

The introduction of ARABIC NUMERALS into England may be traced back, at least, as far as the epoch of the *Conquest* (*l*). Mr. Astle is, however, of opinion, that *Arabic numerals* were not introduced into our charters, before the sixteenth century; and, that, if Arabic numerals were found in any English charters, *before* the fourteenth century, this circumstance would invalidate such charters, by raising strong suspicions of their fraudulence (*m*). With regard to parochial registers,

(*k*) Inquiry, p. 126.

(*l*) See Wasse's Dissertation, Bibl. Liter. No. viii, 1722; Archæolog. vol. i. p. 150; and Mr. Astle's curious work on Writing, 180, and plate 30.

(*m*) The Progress of Writing, 188.

and the accounts of parish officers, Mr. Wasse asserts, that it was not, till about the year 1600, that the Arabic numerals were used in them (*n*): But, this opinion of Mr. Wasse, like the positiveness of Mr. Malone, appears to be founded upon a narrow view of the subject. Mr. Malone might have seen, in the *Archæologia*, a very curious specimen of the accounts of the parish of St. Helen's, in Abingdon; which, from the first of Philip and Mary, were kept in Arabic numerals (*o*). This specimen is alone sufficient to show, that the opinions both of Mr. Wasse, and Mr. Malone, ought to be received with many limitations; so as to give to both the qualified meanings, which they, probably, intended, and the truth, certainly, requires. But, had their proposition been, that the parish officers,

(*n*) *Bibl. Liter.* No. viii.

(*o*) *Archæol.* vol. i. p. 11. This specimen is the more satisfactory, because it has intermixed *Roman* numerals, for the years, and *Arabic* numerals, for the money; which is stated in *shillings*, and *pence*, without the pounds: This document is also important; as it furnishes other illustrations of Shakspeare. And, see Strype's *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, the appx. No. 5: *The Faculty Office: The Dispensations with their prices*: These are all stated in Arabic numerals; and this document is, therefore, a very satisfactory specimen; being a MS. of the Archbishop, who died on the 6th of July 1583. [*Strype*, p. 289.]

the managers of theatres, and household stewards of families, *generally*, kept their accounts, during the age of Elizabeth, in *Roman numerals*, it would not have followed, as a consequence, that the transcript from the books of St. Helen's, and the *Faculty Office* of Archbishop Grindal, or the *Notes and Receipts* of Shakspeare are spurious; because they contain *Arabic numerals*.

This reasoning is confirmed, by a thousand (*p*) documents, from the reign of Henry 8, to the accession of King James (*q*). The account of the sales of chauntries, colleges, and other lands of a similar nature, in the second year of Edward the 6th's reign, as it is drawn up in Arabic numerals, is satisfactory evidence; and, as it contains many curious particulars, gives rise to some serious reflections (*r*). *A Certificate of Fees*, which were paid in those days, in the Consistory Court of

(*p*) See Strype's Memorials, vol. i. appx. No. xxix; c. vii; c. xix, for several statements in the time of Henry 8, which were drawn up in *Arabic numerals*.

(*q*) Lord Burghley's Diary, in Murden's State Papers, is full of Arabic numerals.

(*r*) Strype's Mem. vol. ii. appx. p. 85. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this account contains £. 2. 2. 0. [See p. 91.]

(s) Norwich, as it is written in Arabic numerals, is equally authentic in its notices, and equally satisfactory in its inferences. There were, during Elizabeth's age, ecclesiastical documents, which were formed in a mixed style of composition, both of *Roman*, and of *Arabic*, numerals. Of this mixed nature, is "The State of the Bishoprick of St. Davids, which was sent by the Bishop to Burghley(t)." Of the same nature, is the "Survey taken of the value of the Bishoprick of Chichester, upon the death of Curtesse the late Bishop thereof(u)." Of the same kind, and still more illustrative, is, "a discovery of the present estate of the Bishoprick of St. Asaph," which was sent to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, February 24, 1587(v). These documents, composed as they are of Arabic numerals, prove decisively the rashness of unqualified assertion, and the inconclusiveness of negative positions.

(s) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. appx. p. 79.

(t) Strype's An. vol. iii. appx. p. 37. Here is the first article: "The Bishoprick of St Davids was by Commission, An. 27. R. Reg. *Henrici Octavi*, valued *de claro*—
—ccccLVII. l. 22. d. obq."

(u) Ib. p. 123.

(v) Ib. 184.

I might

I might here close my proofs, upon this point, with this refutation of the objection to the Arabic numerals; which, as it is founded in mistake, might be dismissed, without further notice. But, I will proceed a step, or two, further, for the vindication of truth, and the illustration of our archæology. The invention of the Arabic cyphers was a discovery of as much importance to science, as it was convenient to business. Soon after the introduction of printing, the arithmetical books were printed in Arabic numerals. In this manner was Tostal's work, *De Arte Supputandi*, imprinted by Pynson, in 1522 (w). Record's *Arithmetick, the ground of arts*, which was dedicated to Edward 6th, was printed in Arabic numerals. At the accession of Elizabeth, the more general knowledge, and common use, of the Italian method of book-keeping, by double entry, was introduced, and taught, by James Peele (x). It was,

(w) The *Whetstone of Witte*, which is the seconde part of *Arithmetike*, was printed in Arabic numerals, by Kyngstone, in 1557.

(x) Anderson's *Hist. Deduction of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 408.—Anderson neglected to give us the title-page of this curious book, which is here subjoined for the reader's satisfaction; since it shows also the mistake of Anderson, in

was, by these means, that the habit of using Arabic cyphers, in the operations of life, became more customary; while the Roman numerals kept their accustomed places, in the Exchequer-practice. And, before the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign, the Arabic figures had almost banished the Roman numerals, from the usual transactions of daily business.

This deduction may be proved by many documents. In the year 1545, there is "A Note of the defraying of victuals for Bulloyn, Callais, and other places," in Arabic numerals (y). In 1552, there is "A Brieff of all the King's Majestyes Debts with provision for the discharge thereof (z)." In

fixing the year 1569, as the epoch of the introduction of book-keeping by double entry:—

1569.
 "The Pathwaye to Perfectnes, in th' Accomptes of Debitour, and Creditour: in manner of a Dialogue, very pleasaunte and proffitable for Marchauntes and all other that minde to frequente the same: once agayne set forth, and verie muche enlarged, by James Peele Citizen and Salter of London, Clercke of Christes Hospitall, practizer and teacher of the same.

Imprinted at London, in Paules Churchyarde.

By Thomas Purfoote, dwellinge at the signe of the

"Lucrece.—16 August."

(y) In Hayne's Burghley papers, p. 54.

(z) lb. 126. This too is in Arabic numerals.

1563, there is "the Establishment and charges of the East, West, and middle, Marches (a)." There is "A State of the Low Countries," which was drawn up by the accurate pen of Burghley, in Arabic numerals (b). There is "An Account of the Earl of Arundel's Debts, Estate, and Circumstances," which is stated, wholly, in Arabic numerals (c). Raleigh wrote to Burghley, in 1592, concerning the huge *Carrack*, called *the Mother of God*, several letters; in which he introduces many Arabic numerals (d). There is a paper drawn up by Burghley, in 1592, stating in Arabic numerals, the Queen's extraordinary charges, by means of the Spanish war (e). Sir Thomas Gresham, who was the great agent for money,

(a) In Hayne's Burghley papers, p. 397.—This is a very long account in Arabic numerals: And, see the same book, p. 455, for the Bishop of London's Certificate of the numbers of all strangers, within the several wards of that city, which is stated in Arabic numerals.

(b) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. appx. p. 66.

(c) *Ib.* p. 134. And see the same book, p. 147-8—153—169—174-5—182—221—226, for a variety of curious documents, which are all drawn up in Arabic numerals.

(d) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 126-9—130.

(e) *Ib.* iii: And see p. 197, the names of recusants, with the sums of money paid by them, in 1594, which are also in Arabic numerals.

in that reign, made constant use of Arabic numerals, in his letters to Burghley (*f*). The state of the ships, and men, which were to oppose the Spanish Armada, in 1588, was drawn up wholly in Arabic numerals (*g*). There is “A brief note of all such Silver Bullion as was brought into the Towere by Sir Francis Drake, and laid in the vaute under the Jewel house, and what hath been taken out, and remaineth,” which was stated in Arabic numerals (*b*). Peck has preserved some very curious papers of that age, which are written in Arabic numerals (*i*). Mr. Malone has, indeed, expressed his doubts, about some of those papers; without recollecting, that *doubts* are not *proofs*. His scept-

(*f*) Murden, p. 217.

(*g*) Ib. 594—627.

(*b*) Ib. 539.

(*i*) Desider. Curios. vol. ii. p. 246-7-8-9:—There are two articles, which are strikingly interesting:

It:—6 yards of tawny velvit at 14s. each yard £.440

It:—3 bhds. of wine, 1 white, 1 red, and 1 claret 550

In Peck's Desid. vol. i. p. 61, there is an account of “Queen Elizabeth's annual expence, civil and military,” which is drawn up in Arabic numerals. Mr. Malone, however, “has not the smallest doubt, that the Arabick numerals were adopted by Peck, as least troublesome.” [Inquiry, p. 127.] This is not only to doubt against the document, but to argue against fact.

ticism

ticism cannot remember, that unless he prove, that the universal practice of the age was to keep accounts in Roman numerals, he will fail in his objection to the use of Arabic numerals, in *the Miscellaneous Papers*.

I have already disproved the universality of the practice of keeping books of accounts in Roman numerals, during that age, whatever may have been done in the exchequer. Of more than fifty warrants, for paying money to players, which I have gleaned from the *council-registers* of Elizabeth's reign, one eighth of them are stated in *words*, one eighth in *Roman numerals*, and the other *three fourths of them* in *Arabic numerals*. In the paper office, there is a book, N^o 24; containing Prince Henry's privy-purse expences, for one year, from the 29th of September 1609, to the 29th of September 1610; which is drawn up, wholly, in Arabic numerals (*k*). This book, as it was
thus

(*k*) The whole expence of one year was £.1400. Among other charges, the following are remarkable:

17th October paid to a Frenchman, that presented a book	—	—	£. 4 10 0
20 Octor paid Mr. Holyoak for writing a Catalogue of the Library which the Prince had of Lord Lumley	—	—	8 13 4
1610-11, Janry, paid to two poor scholars.			2 0 0
29 Sep ^r , <i>lost at cards</i>	—	—	6 6 0

Here,

thus kept in Arabic numerals, ought to remove some of Mr. Malone's doubts; since he knows how often "doubting things go ill,"

Yet, he continues to doubt, with regard to Shakspeare's receipts of money for playing at the house of *lorde Leycesterre* (l). He suspects, that an error of his own, which he now retracts, was the foundation of the forgery of these receipts. The fact is, as the *council-registers* evince, that the usual recompence for playing before the Queen was £. 6. 13. 4; and generally £. 3. 6. 8, in addition, as the royal bounty (m). On this head, then, the objection to the sum of £. 19, which Lord Leycesterre paid,

Here, we see the Prince of Wales losing *six guineas* at cards. This book is subscribed by the Prince:—*f Henry P*; his baptismal name being Frederick Henry.—And, as a conclusive proof of the use of Arabic numerals, among the players, in Shakspeare's days, see Mr. Malone's own document, *the Articles of Grievance* against Mr. Hinchlowe. [Inquiry, 247.]

(l) Inquiry, 128-9.

(m) A warrant was granted, on the 27th of Nov. 1597, to Sir John Stanhope, the treasurer of her majesty's chamber, to pay to John Hemings, and Thoms Pope, servants to the lord chamberlain, for six interludes, played before her majesty, in the Christmas holydays last, the sum of forty pounds, for their pains and charges, and by way of her majesty's reward £. 20. [Council-register of that date.]

on one occasion, for the players *greate expennces* in playing *ats house*, is not to be justified, when we consider both the fact, and the practice. But, the great liberality of Lord Leycester, whose name Shakspeare could not spell, it seems, though every body else could, who did not live so near to Kenelworth Castle, is extremely objectionable; being no less than “the summe o’ 50 poundes (n).” As we are not told how many plays were enacted, or what work was done, for this great reward, the minute critic has not sufficient ground for *his stretch’d footing and the scaffoldage*.

Thus, is the public accuser continually finding objections in his own mistakes. In this strain, he objects to the application of the worshipful epithet *grace* to any other noble personages than dukes; and he objects to the spelling of *Leycester*. But, we have seen, that such objections are more easily made, than fully supported: I have already shown, with sufficient conviction, that there was then no settled custom, in the application of the epithet *grace*, which was applied, at times, to a *marchioness*, and to a *baron*; nor any general uniformity, in

(n) Inquiry, 126.

the spelling of that favourite's title (*o*). Happy had it been for Mr. Malone, if before he entangled himself, in such a maze of doubts, he had reflected, with Dekker, that,

“ A maze is like a doubt;

“ 'Tis easy to get in; hard to get out.”

Yet, is he determined to persevere in his congenial mode of objecting to a *want* of *uniformity*, in an age, when uniformity did not exist in practice, or theory. In this style, he objects to Shakspeare's *specialties* to John Heminges; “ for so his name should be written,” says Mr. Malone (*p*). Was the name of this first editor of Shakspeare's dramas ever written, and printed *so* before? Was it *so* written by Mr. Malone, in 1790? Was it *so* written in his will? Was it *so* printed in

(*o*) The famous Sir Thomas Gresham, writing to Burghley on the 28th of May 1572, prays: “ that I maye have my Lady Mary Grey removed *owght* of hand, seeing that her majestie haythe holly refferred the matter to you, and my Lord *Leassitor*, wherein youre Lordeship shall do me and my wiffe a very *singgeular* good Torne.” [Murden, p. 217.] Now, the question is, whether this letter of Sir Thomas Gresham, who knew *men*, and *matters*, as well as any person of that age, be genuine, or spurious? Mr. Malone has already decided, that it is spurious; because Gresham, who had probably lent money to Leicester, must have known how to spell the name of that *singgeular* good *lorde*.

(*p*) Inquiry, 137-9.

the

the first edition of Shakspeare's comedies, tragedies and histories, in 1623? Was it ever so printed since? If you ask Mr. Malone for a reason, why the name should be *so* written, he will answer, in his own manner; because "it was a very frequent practice in the last age to add a final *s* to proper names." He subjoins a better reason: "the corruption of the name of Heminge was by himself, by adding a final *s*." And, he fortifies this accusation, by asserting, that "the name is also written Heminges in the margin of that will, which is preserved in the prerogative office as an original." I suspect, however, that the assertion, with regard to the name of Heminges, on the margin of the will, cannot be supported. On examining the record, it appeared to me, distinctly, that the name, which was written on the margin, by the clerk, is Hemings (*q*). But, Mr. Malone will be, doubtless, more happy in the discoveries, which

(*q*) In the council-registers, the name is spelt sometimes Heminges, but oftener Hemings. A will of John Hemings may be found in the prerogative office, in 1665: And, in 1686, the will of George Hemings. It appears from Lyons's *Environs of London*, vol. ii. p. 10, and vol. iii. p. 334-95-585, that the name of Heming remains to the present day. One *autograph* (and we have only one genuine signature of *Heminges*) is not sufficient evidence to prove how he generally spelt his name.

he has recently made, on this subject, in the parish-registers of St. Mary Aldermanbury; as he can read the old hand-writing so much better, than the believers: He therein found, it seems, that John Hemings was married on the Xth of March 1587 to Rebecca *Nuel*, widow. Yet, the register demonstrates, that these discoveries are all imaginary. In the entries of his marriage, in the parish-register, and of the baptism of his five children, the name is uniformly spelt (*r*) Heming; and he married, not Rebecca *Nuel*, but Rebecca *Knell*, *widow* (*s*). If it were a question, whether the parish-registers of St. Mary Aldermanbury be genuine, or spurious, Mr. Malone would readily decide, as there is a misspelling in the name of *Heming*, that they

(*r*) The register of Shottery parish, near Stratford-upon-Avon, spells the name Heming, and Hemyng, but never Heminges. [Mal. Shak. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 189.]

(*s*) If I might be indulged a conjecture, when adjusting such an important point, as the true spelling of Hemyng's name, I should guess, that the Mistress Knell, whom John Heming certainly married, was, probably, the *widow* of *Knell*, the actor, who is mentioned by Heywood, in 1612, as dead before his time; [Apology for Actors, Sig^r E. 2;] and is spoken of as the Garrick of his day: For, there was a very intimate connection between the players of former times.

are certainly spurious; as he would equally decide, in favour of his own infallibility, as to *Mistress Nuel*, against *Mistress Knell*; and the register. *Uniformity of spelling* is to Mr. Malone, what a *quibble* was to Shakspeare: He pursues it, at all adventures, as the traveller pursues an *ignis fatuus*; it is sure to lead him out of the way; and is sure to plunge him in the mire: *Uniformity of spelling* is the fatal *Cleopatra*, for which he lost the critical world; and is content to lose it.

After such discoveries, and such indications of forgery, the public accuser thinks it unnecessary to call the attention “to the sum of *five guineas*, here in fact, though not in words promised to be paid.” He admits, however, that “in the infinite combinations which sums are capable of such payments may occasionally have been made as five pounds and five shillings.”—Yet, even in these instances, the usual mode of ancient times was, to write *xxi* shillings; or *cv* shillings. In opposition to these assumptions, and suggestions, I have shown payments of *£.6. 6 s.* *£.5. 5 s.* *£.4. 4 s.* and *£.2. 2 s.* in Shakspeare’s age; and which were all charged, in Arabic numerals; in direct refutation of Mr.

Malone’s

Malone's theory; and in contempt, as it were, of the *idle babble* about *five guineas*.

But, the minute critic, as he is invested with unbounded invention, is also endued with *second sight*. The word *recompence*, which is used in Shakspeare's *specialty*; "though it was in use at that time, *would not have been the word employed here*; but (*t*) *reward*," it seems. In fact, Shakspeare uses the word *recompence*, on such occasions: Shakspeare might have said to Hemings, not in the honey-moon, indeed, which would have dissatisfied the wanton *widdow* (*u*) *Nuel*; but in the following year: "Do not look for further *recompence*, [in going down to Stratford,] than thine own *gladness* that thou art employed:" Hemings might have replied, in *friendly recompence* to Shakspeare: "Thou art so far before, that swiftest wing of *recompence* is slow to overtake thee (*v*)."
The public accuser concludes his objections to this *specialty* of Shakspeare, in his best man-

(*t*) Inquiry, 136.

(*u*) Inquiry, 140.

(*v*) In his twenty-third sonnet, Shakspeare asks;

"Who plead for love, and look for *recompence*?"

See Mal. Supl^t vol. i. p. 600. And, see *Twelfth Night*:

"I am no feed post, lady; keep your purse;

"My master, not myself, lacks *recompence*."

ner. After deciding, by an averment, that difficult question, when the *GLOBE Theatre* was built, he adds: "But we want no aid
 " from these minute observations: The whole
 " is an evident forgery (*w*)."
 Three sophisms, in one breath, the *Globe*, the forgery, the *evident forgery*, may well prompt an enraged critic to exclaim with Lear, "Ha! here's
 " three of us are *sophisticated*."

In this style of sophistry, the public accuser opens his attack on *Shakspeare's Letter to Cowley* (*x*). He deems it a strong objection to assert, "that Richard Cowley was a
 " *low actor*, who played the part of *Verges* in
 " *Much Ado About Nothing*; and who, if we
 " are to credit these papers, was our poet's
 " bosom friend (*y*)."
 He meets him in suitable company; yet, with the acuteness of Dogberry, *he suspects him, by virtue of his office to be no true man*. Richard Cowley was certainly not one of the *hired men* of *The Company*; but was, undoubtedly, *a fellow*, of Shakspeare, Hemings, Cundal, Laurence Fletcher, Augustine Phillips, Robert Armin, and other chief comedians. He had the honour to be mentioned, by King James, with Laurence Fletcher, Shakspeare, and the other respectable

(*w*) Inquiry, 137.(*x*) *Ib.* 205.(*y*) *Ib.*

actors of that epoch, as one of the company at the Globe theatre. When Augustine Phillips made his will, in 1605, he gave a legacy to Richard Cowley, together with Shakspeare, Cundal, Laurence Fletcher, Armyn, and the testators, other *fellows* of the King's company (z). It appears from various circumstances, that the players, of that period, had a warm friendship for each other; which, as it does credit to their characters, reflects honour on their memories. These facts establish a strong presumption, which idle assertion cannot shake, that Shakspeare might probably account Richard Cowley, a *pleasaynte ande wittye personne whose companie he did esteeme*.

But, a *witty* person, in Shakspeare's time, signified, says Mr. Malone, "either a man of cunning and shrewdness; not as it is here used, a man of lively fancy (a)." I wot no what *wit* it is, who says: "I am not only *witty* in myself; but the cause that *wit* is in other men:" Mr. Malone can tell. He has read, no doubt, a certain comedy, yclept *Much Ado About Nothing*; wherein he

(z) I have luckily found *the Will* of Augustine Phillips, which Mr. Malone unluckily missed; and which, as it contains many curious particulars, will be hereinafter printed.

(a) Inquiry, 205-6.

might have seen an exemplification of *witty* persons :

Benedict : Sir, I shall meet your *wit* in the career, if you charge it against me.

* * * * *

Benedict : Sir, your *wit* ambles well ; it goes easily.

Pedro : I'll tell thee, how Beatrice praised thy *wit* the other day : I said, *thou hadst a fine wit* : True ; says she, *a fine little one* : No ; said I, *a great wit* : Right ; said she, *a great gross one* : Nay ; said I, *a good wit* : *Just* ; says she, it hurts nobody.

Shakspeare repeats the word *wit*, for a reciprocation of smartness, a thousand times (b).

Yet,

(b) "What a *wit-snapper* are you." [Merch. of Venice.]
 "A college of *witcrakers* cannot flout me out of my humour." [Much Ado.] Chapman, Ben Johnson, and Marston, concurred with Shakspeare, when they wrote the Prologue to *Eastward Hoe*, in 1605, which concluded with this couplet :

"Bear with our willing pains, if dull, or *witty* ;
 "We only dedicate it to the cittye."

Ben Johnson's verses to the memory of Shakspeare, as they are published in Mal. Shak. vol. i. p. 201, have these lines :

"Which were so richly spun, and woven so fit,
 "As, since, she will vouchsafe no other *wit* :
 "The merry Greek, tart Aristophanes,
 "Neat Terence, *witty* Plautus, now not please ;
 "But antiquated and deserted lie,
 "As they were not of Nature's family."

Ben Johnson was said, at the time, to be the *wittiest* brick-layer in England. Harrington has *witty* very often in his *Epigrams*. Yet, Mr. Malone resumes his objection to *witty*, in the Inquiry, 297 ; insisting with unlucky perseverance,

Yet, Mr. Malone gravely maintains his position, with wild pertinacity; as if the epithet *witty* had not been used by Shakspeare, and the other wits of his age, in both the senses; for a *smart*, and for a shrewd, person.

The public accuser now diverges from *witty* to *whimsical*. “The *whymysicall Conceit* will demand,” he says (*c*) seriously, “a more particular examination.” He turns over dictionaries, for the word *whimsical*, without success; though he finds, in the age of Shakspeare, *whim-wham*, and *whimsy*,—fantastical, toyish, odde, conceited; which are all cousin-germans of *whimsical conceit*: And, from his disappointment in the search, he infers, ac-

that it bore, in those times, no such meaning, as sarcastic joke. Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, which was printed in 1553, 1567, and 1585, has a chapter of *wittie jesting*: “Many pleasant gentlemen are well practised in *merrie* conceited jests.” [Last Edit. p. 184.] See Marston’s Satire, 1599: *Stultorum plena sunt omnia*:

“For, (shame to the poet) read NED, behold!

“How *wittily* a maisterhood can scold.

In a note Marston adds: “Mark the *witty* allusion to *my name*.” [Sig. H 1.] But, *Ned* cried out; enough; enough; of *witty*, quite enough!!!

(*c*) Inquiry, 206.—Fowler sent from Wodstoke, on the 11th of September 1603, to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, “A *Conceate* of myne drauen from ane horologe.” [Lodge’s *Illust.* vol. iii. p. 169.]

cording

ording to his own mode of logic, that the word *whimsical* did not then exist. I have already discovered so many words, which are thus supposed not to exist, that I feel myself entitled to deny the right of the public accuser, to consider *nonentities*, as facts; to reason from suspicions, as bearing the force of evidence; and to call for conviction from what he asserts, rather than from what he proves. While searching unsuccessfully for a *whimsical conceit*, he might have found a booke of *wyse conceytes*; containing “*wittie fayned sayings of men, beasts, and fowls (d)* :” Herein, he might have seen, how a *crane* trying to emulate the *eagle*, in flying up as high as the *sunne*, evinced; by her fate, that,

“ Who so clymbeth higher than he should,

“ Falleth lower than he would.”

(d) This rare, elegant; and wittie, *Schole of wise Conceytes* was printed by Binneman, in 1569. The inquirer [p. 209] objects to “*oun* for *one*, which (he says) is the spelling of no “time whatsoever.” If he had not thought *negative* proofs quite sufficient, he might have seen *oon* for *one*, frequently, in Henry the 7th’s Instructions, before mentioned; in a love-letter of Henry the 8th to *Anna Bullen*, there is *won* for *one*; and he may see *oone* for *one*, very often in Sir Edward Waldegrave’s account of the burial of Edward the 6th, in *The Archæol.* vol. xii. p. 395. My argument is, that there was, in those times, *no uniformity* of spelling; and consequently, there could be no *precedent* for the spelling of any one word.

The fate of the crane does not, however, restrain the public accuser from making similar objections to Shakspeare's *Deed of Gift to William Henry (e) Ireland*, which he supports by supposing much, and proving little. This is the first deed, he protests, that he had ever perused, though he had examined not a few, in which a story, with all its circumstances, was regularly told. He has never read, it seems, West's *Symboleographie*, which he sometimes quotes. This *description of instruments*, and *precedents*, sufficiently proves, that recitals were very commonly prefixed to deeds; in order to lay a strong foundation, for the subsequent contracts (*f*). He thus fails, in his first objection. In opposition to the deed, he makes an averment, that Shakspeare did not live in the Blackfriars, in 1604: And, in order to make out this objection, he says, that Shakspeare had no motive to live then in the Blackfriars; undertaking withal, to prove, that Shakspeare lived in Southwark,

(*e*). Inquiry, 210.

(*f*) I quote the edit. 1647; wherein may be seen, particularly, contracts of marriage, which regularly tell the story with all the circumstances: And, the scrivener would have ill discharged his trust, had he not recited the intention, and agreement, of the contracting parties,

during

during the year 1596; perhaps from that year to 1608. It would be a point of more importance to settle, whether Shakspeare ever had a fixed residence in the metropolis. I doubt, if the poet ever brought his family from Stratford, or ever considered London, as his home (g). If it be true, that his house-

(g) From the parish-register of Stratford-upon-Avon, it appears:—

1st. That he was baptized there, on the 26th April 1564;

2dly. That his daughter Sufanna was baptized there, on the 26th May 1583;

3dly. That Hamnet and Judith, his twin son, and daughter, were baptized there, the 2d February 158 $\frac{3}{4}$.

4thly. That his son Hamnet was buried there, on the 11th of August 1596.

5thly. That his daughter Sufanna was there married to John Hall, on the 5th of June 1607.

6thly. That his daughter Judith was there married to Thomas Queeny, on the 10th of February 16 $\frac{1}{5}$.

7thly. That he was buried there, on the 23d April 1616.

From these incontrovertible facts, I am led to infer, that Shakspeare's family constantly resided at the place of his birth, and burial. Add to this, that his mortgage, dated the 10th of March 1612-13, describes him, as William Shakepeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, gentleman. He is said to have produced his *Twelfth Night*, in 1614. Ben Johnson calls him the *Sweet Swan of Avon*, not of Thames. And, the tradition, which is still remembered, of Shakspeare's frequent journies from Stratford to London, and from London to Stratford, confirms my conjecture.

hold was at Stratford, and his abode in London, during particular seasons, it will follow; that the objector again fails in his position.

By the accession of King James, Shakspeare acquired some honour. From being the servant of the Lord Chamberlain, he, and his fellows, became immediately the servants of the King (*b*). It was from the mere favour of James, who wished to please every body, and not to the solicitation of Lord Southampton, who had too many things to ask for (*i*) himself, that the license was granted to Fletcher, Shakspeare, and other players, on the 19th of May 1603, to play at the Globe, and at other convenient places, within any town. And, it was equally commodious for Shakspeare to reside, for a time, in the Blackfriars, as on the Bankside. Here again the objector fails.—

“ I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold,

“ And vent’rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear.”

But, the public accuser will neither shrink, nor fear, when he engages to invalidate the

(*b*) Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant* 1604, fig. B.

(*i*) Mr. Malone says, that the license was procured, “ without doubt, by the favour of the Earl of Southampton.” [Inquiry, 214.] It would require much stronger evidence, than mere assertion, to satisfy me of the truth of this position; so doubtful, and so improbable, do I think it.

deed

deed of gift to Ireland; by showing, that, as Shakspeare could swim, he owed no obligation to his saviour: And, he proves, that Shakspeare could (*k*) swim, by saying, that the poet could *describe* the useful art of swimming; as if, by parity of reason, the dramatist were able to create the cliffs of Dover:—

“Mark, and perform it, see’st thou! for the fail

“Of any point in’t shall not only be

“Death to thyself; but ——”

Notwithstanding this denunciation, we are, from vague conjecture, once more carried back (*l*) to *verbal disquisition*, which, in *this Inquiry*, are not long separated from each other. The seamen’s word *upset*, which they use colloquially, it seems, to express one of the many modes of shipwreck, the public accuser could not find in Johnson’s dictionary, nor indeed in any book (*m*): Yet, he admits it to have crept into our language; though he cannot tell when. It has been said, by Johnson, that the *naval dialogue* of *the Tempest* is perhaps the first example of sailor’s language, exhibited on the stage. If this creative genius first introduced the naval dialogue of our

(*k*) *Inquiry*, 217.

(*l*) *Ib.* 219.

(*m*) In Eliot’s dictionary, printed by Berthelet, 1545, the word *everto* is rendered “to tourne *up set* downe.”

dramatic colloquy, is it improbable, that he may have adopted *upset*, either by design, or chance. If it be probable, that he found the word on the Bankside, or in Eliot's dictionary, a *suspicion*, arising from *negative* argument, will not deprive the finder of the advantages of his discovery. When an accident happens, says Mr. Malone, to a boat from the mismanagement of a sail, or the force of the wind, the boat is said to be *over-turned* (*n*): No: sailors, and philologers, would use, on such an accident, the appropriate term, *over-set*, which means to *turn bottom* (*o*) *upwards*; but the word *overturn*, say Johnson, and Ash, means to throw down; to tople down; to subvert; to ruin; and, from Milton, to overpower; to conquer. He is not more lucky in his conclusion, where his observation is founded in fact, rather than philology:—
 “ Here therefore,” says he, “ we find an acci-
 “ dent not very likely to happen on the Thames,
 “ where we seldom have such boisterous waves,
 “ expressed by a word unknown in our lan-
 “ guage for above a century afterwards (*p*).”

If we examine, however, the records of the drama, we shall find, that *the fact* does not

(*n*). Inquiry, 220. (o) See Johnson, and Ash, in *Voc.*

(*p*) Inquiry, 220.

warrant his conclusion. In the *Eastward Hoe* of Chapman, Johnson, and Marston, which was printed, in 1605, we may see, in the scenes of real life, “ what pranks the Thames
“ plaies in her desperate lunacy.” Let us select an example by way of illustration of the subject:—

Enter Drawer.

“ Drawer: Sir Petronel; Here’s one of your watermen come to tell you, it will be flood these three howeres; and that it will be dangerous gowing against the tide: For, the skie is overcast; and there was a porpisce, even now seen at London-bridge, which is always the messenger of tempests, he sayes.

Petronel: A porpisce! what’s that to th’ purpose? Charge him, if hee love his life, to attend us: Can we not reach Blackwall (where my ship lies) against the tide, and in spite of tempests?— Captain Seagull; charge a boat.

Omnes: A boat, a boat, a boat. [*Exeunt.*]

Drawer: Y’are in a proper taking indeed to take a boat; especially at this time of night, and against tide, and tempest.

Enter Securitie.

Securitie: What, Winny! wife, I say!— out of dores, at this time; where should I seek the goddies? She’s gone with the Knight:—woe be to thee Billingsgate: *A boate, a boate, a boate, a full hundred marks, for a boat (q)!*

(q). In this dull parody on *Richard’s horse*, we see another malignant stroke of Ben Johnson, at *gentle Shakspeare*; which has not been generally observed.

The

The *porpisce* was for once a true prophet as it seemeth. *Slitgut* entering with a *paire* of *oxe-bornes*, early in the morning, describes what he beheld :

Slitgut: Up then, Heaven, and St. Luke, blesse me, that I be not blown into the Thames, as I clime this tree, that *is all fruit and no leaves*, with this *furious tempest*. Lorde! what a coyle the Thames keeps; she bears some unjust burden, I believe, that she kicks, and curvets, thus, to cast it: Heaven blesse all honest passengers, that are upon her back now; for, the bitte is out of her mouth, I see, and shee will run away with them. Oh me! here's a boate has been cast away, hard by: Alas, alas, see one of her passengers labouring for his life.

We now perceive, in this dramatic history, that the Thames sometimes heeps a *coyle*; that a furious tempest will arise, when *the porpoise* foretels it; that when drunken men, and naughty women, will take boat against the tide, and in spight of tempests, the rude Thames will "plaie pranks in her desperate lunacie." Here, is the very tempest, for aught that appears, which *upset* Shakspeare, which called forth the benevolence of Ireland, and which prompted Shakspeare to exhibit a specimen of his gratitude, in his deed of gift (*r*) to the never-to-be-forgotten favour of his life.

But,

(*r*) Let no minute critic, in order to fix an anachronism on the face of this coincidence, remark, that *Eastward Hoe* was
was

But, the public accuser will, however, be more lucky in his search for the family of him, who, by saving Shakspeare, gladdened life. *William Ireland* he easily finds; but, *William Henry Ireland* he cannot find. He bestows much unsuccessful pains “to show
 “that in the beginning of the last century,
 “and long afterwards, persons of the first
 “rank in England were *contented* with *one*
 “*Christian name*, though this haberdasher in
 “the Blackfriars has been decorated with
 “two (s).” The heirs apparent of the crown,

was printed, in 1605, or calculate, by an algebraical operation, that the year 1605, is subsequent to 1604: The fact is, that though *Eastward Hoe* was printed, in 1605, it was acted at the *Blackfriars* sometime before, and the tempest must have set the Thames in a *coyle*, before the publishing, the acting, or the inditing of the comedie: For, as the *prologus* of it well observes; “ther’s no effect, where ther’s
 “no cause.” The only difference, in those coincident events, undoubtedly is, that the voyage of *Petronel* and *Seagull* was from *Billingsgate* to *Blackwall*, *downe* Thames; while the voyage of *Shakspeare* and *Ireland* was *upp* Thames from *Blackfryers* to *Battersea*. There is another coincidence, which is worthy of notice: *Shakspeare* recites in his deed of gift; “having with mye goode freynde *Masterre* *William Henry Ireland*, and otherres *tain boate* :” Now; in *Eastward Hoe* it is said; “I believe yee were drown’d in
 “tavern before, or els you would never have *toke boat*, in
 “such a dawning as this was.”

(s) Inquiry, 226-7-8-9.

Henry,

Henry, and Charles, he adds, could boast of no such distinction (*t*). He means to stake his credit, as a philological antiquary, upon the assumption, that two *baptismal names* were *unprecedented*, in that age.

Now, upon this curious point of our archæology, I join issue with him. In the painfulness of his search, he seems to have forgotten, that there is such a book as *Camden's Remains*: He appears to have also forgotten, that Camden had already treated of this subject, with his usual judgment, and modesty. The various events of time produced, in the succession of ages, a variety of names. Christianity introduced the names of virtuous persons, for the purpose of worthy example. Succeeding ages, little regarding the admonition of *the Fathers*, recalled names of unhappy disaster. The reformation brought in the baptismal appellations of Zachary, Malachy, Josias, with other names of scriptural recommendation. During the reign of Elizabeth, it became customary in England, though not in other European nations, to give surnames for names of baptism. But, says Camden, "two *Christian* names are *rare*, in England: I only remember now his ma-

(*t*) *Inquiry*, p. 229.

"jesty,

“ jesty, who was named Charles James, as
 “ the prince his son, Henry Frederick; and,
 “ among private men, Thomas Maria Wing-
 “ field, and Sir Thomas Posthumous Hob-
 “ ley (u).” But, the fact is, that two Chris-
 tian names were not then *so rare*, as Camden,
 with his usual circumspection, conceived. On
 the 7th of May 1603, Thoms Pope Blount
 was knighted at Theobalds. In the second
 charter, which King James, granted to the
 Virginia company, in 1609, among many
 persons, Robert Earl of Salisbury is the first,
 Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, is the second, and
 Henry, Earl of Southampton, is the third,
 may be seen *Robert Hildebrand Sprinpson*, and
Edward Maria Wingfield (v). In the coun-
 cil-register, 1596, may be found Miles David
 Miles; and, in the register of 1592, Watkin
 John Thomas. But, these instances are suf-
 ficient to prove, that double names of baptism
 were not wholly *unprecedented*, in the age of
 Shakspeare, and Ireland (w). And thus, have
 I rescued

(u) I quote from the fourth impression of Camden's Re-
 mains, in 1629: The first edition was published, I believe,
 in 1614.

(v) Stith's Hist. of Virginia, the Appx. N^o ii.

(w) *Daw-bridge-court* Belchier published, in 1618, an
 interlude,

I rescued Camden, and the truth, from the critical claws of the public accuser. The critic has, indeed, retracted his assertion, with regard to Henry Frederick, the Prince of Wales (*x*). But, having once opened the window of his mind, he could not prevent the eyes of the curious from seeing the furniture within.

The public accuser will be more fortunate, perhaps, and not less persevering, in his next objection. The spelling, and phraseology, of Shakspeare's time was the *Blackfryers*, says he, and not the *Blackfriars* (*y*). *Eastward Hoe*, which was published in 1605, was played in the *Blackfriers* by the children of her majesty's revels. In Wicklyffe's Treatise against the

interlude, called *Hans Beerpot*: But, how many names Mr. Belchier had, I know not. See the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii. p. 400, for a very curious collection of names.

(*x*) In Birch's life of Prince Henry, p. 6-7-8, antiquaries had read the ceremonial of the baptism of Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick, the *heir* apparent of James 1st; which names being three times repeated by the bishop, were then proclaimed by the heralds, with the sound of trumpets; yet, the repetition of the bishop, the voice of the heralds, the clangor of the trumpets; all did not preserve the name of Henry Frederick, in *some memories*. From various autographs, it appears, that he usually subscribed his name *f. Henry. P.*

(*y*) Inquiry, 222.

order

order of (z) *friars*, which was printed, in 1608, may be seen *four* varieties, which preclude all pretence to uniformity of spelling, in Shakspeare's time. Here again he fails in his objection.

The public accuser, will now produce an objection, which, as he will doubtless maintain it by fact, rather than assertion, may not be easily answered. He quotes from the deed of gift, the following passage, for the sake of the points; “for the which service I doe herebye give hym as followithe !!!” And, he adds, “No punctuation whatsoever is employed in deeds (a).” Nay; the deeds, which are published by himself, in his “Inquiry,” Appendix No. II, III, and IV,

(z) In p. 23, *Friars*; in p. 24, *Friers*; in p. 25, *Fryers*; and in p. 31, *Fryars*. John Leylande's *Laboryouse Journey* was to be sold, in 1549, at the sign of the Crowne next unto the Whyte *Fryears-gate*. In Fenn's Letters we have *Black freyrs*, and *Grey freers*. In the Inquiry, 268, Mr. Malone resumes this objection; saying that this word, or rather two words, was *constantly* written *Black-fryers*. Yet, in John Norden's map, 1593, we have *Black friers*, *Whyte friers*.—During those times, we have in the council-registers, alternately, *Blackfryars*, and *Blackfryers*.

(a) Inquiry, 231: And as to these notes of admiration, he adds, “of which even the printed books of former times furnish no example.” [See the note in p. 231.]

with regular punctuation, disprove his own assertion. The various instruments in West's *Symboleographie* are copiously pointed (*b*). If he mean to assert, that printed books of former times furnish no example of notes of admiration, his assertion will be found to be equally groundless. The Eastward Hoe of 1605 has points of admiration; *The Witch* of Middleton, during the same age, has notes of admiration: And, Shakspeare is not without notes of admiration (*c*). The public accuser thus

(*b*) The following contract, which is an original paper in my possession, is pointed thus: "Articles of agreement made
" between the Right worshipful Sir John Hart and Sir
" Richard Martin Knights and Aldermen of London for the
" true payment of eight hundred pounds due unto the said
" Sir John by the said Sir Richard: || In manner follow-
" ing viz: ||" Here, then, are similar points to Shakspeare's, which flout at the groundless assertion of *no punctuation whatsoever is employed in deeds*. - See this contract hereafter: and see a note of hand hereafter, which is also pointed in a similar manner. In 1613, Alexander Cooke, the player, wrote his last will with his *owne hand*; and pointed it in a similar manner: "Or whatsoever is mine in
" all the world |||| This is my last will and testament | I
" have set to my hand, Alex: Cooke: "

(*c*) Inquiry, p. 231: "O God of love! O day untoward-
" ly turned! O mischief strangely thwarting! O plague right
" well prevented!" [Much Ado About Nothing, 1600, in Steevens's twenty quarto plays.]

fails egregiously, in objecting to points, and notes of admiration.

He is at last resolved, after so many failures, to fail no more. The public accuser now proceeds to tell us how Shakspeare, had he ever mentioned his historical play of Henry the *fifth*, would have written it; not as we find it here, but *fift*, as he himself *unquestionably pronounced the word*; and as half the people of England pronounce it, at this day (*d*). What is this, but assuming to tell, what cannot now be told, how Shakspeare spoke, and wrote the word *fifth*! Nor, does the irregular practice of the times warrant his assumption (*e*). And, of course, he once more fails in an objection, which was hazarded, with all the firmness of infallibility.

From such topics, with regard to writing,

(*d*) Inquiry, 234-5.

(*e*) In Googe's *Zodiacke of Life*, 1576, p. 61, we may see the *fifthe* booke; in the *Palace of Pleasure*, vol. ii. the *fifth* Novell; in the *Flowers of Eloquent Speech*, 1581, sign. B. 1. cciiii. the *fifth* act; in Newton's *Seneca*, 1581, there is the *fifthe* tragedie and the *fifth* tragedy. In Florio's *Second Frutes*, 1591, we have, p. 65, the *fifth* chapter. In Drayton's poems, 1613, we have, in his *Baron's Wars*, the fifth booke. In the first edition of the play of Henry Vth, the word is accidentally *fift*: But, the second folio edition of Shakspeare's dramas, 1632, has *fifth*, and *fift*, alternately.

pointing, and conveyancing, we are plunged into the contentious *abyss* of *copy-right*. The public accuser disputes the right of Shakspeare to his own plays: Our poet, having already “ sold to the *theatre* the enumerated plays, “ according to the constant practice of that “ time, *had no property whatsoever in them* (f). Shakspeare does not give to Ireland the right of *acting* his plays, which having already conveyed to *the theatre*, he does not pretend to reclaim. The right of *printing*, the poet still reserved, for aught that appears: Nor, will rights ever be supposed to be surrendered, till their conveyance be shown by documents. It is incontrovertibly certain, that Shakspeare did possess, till his dying day, the right of printing his dramatic works (g). Heminge,

(f) Inquiry, 234.

(g) Hear what the first editors of his dramas, say upon the point, in opposition to Mr. Malone: “ It had been a “ thing, say they, in their Preface, worthie to have been “ wished, that the author had lived to set forth, and over “ seene his owne writings; but since it hath been ordained “ otherwise, and he, by death, departed from *that right*, we “ pray you do not envy his friends the office of their care “ and paine, to have *collected* and *published* them; and so to “ have published them, as where [before] you were abused “ with divers stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and “ deformed by the fraude and stealths of injurious impostors, “ that exposed them.”

and

and Condell, the first editors, acknowledge this right in him; and their *recognition* ought to prevent any editor of the present day, from asserting, in contradiction to it, that *he had no property whatsoever in his own writings*. Eight judges, with Lord Mansfield, at their head, were of opinion, that Shakspeare had a right, a common-law right, in the productions of his own genius (*b*). *Sucking* lawyers, however, are of opinion, that the poet *had no right whatsoever*, in his own dramas; though it be admitted that, he did, in fact, sell them, for a special purpose (*i*).

Yet; *would I knew that stroke would prove the worst!* But, the public accuser is ready to give a death's-blow to the deed of gift. "The indorsement before us, containing the year of the king's reign in English, instead of Latin, is a decisive proof of forgery; and the two words "2 James," are as fatal, on the outside as *William-Henry* are within this instrument (*k*)." In this manner, is it shown, that the English scribble of Ireland, a haberdasher, who kept a shop in the Black-friars, nullified his own deed (*l*). In con-

(*b*) Blackst. Com. Edit. Christian, vol. ii. p. 4.

(*i*) Inquiry, 236.

(*k*) Ib. 237.

(*l*) Ib. 222-4.

firmation of this doctrine, the public accuser quotes *Co. Litt.* Hargrave's edit. to prove, that an obvious *anachronism* will prove the fraudulence of a *doubtful deed*. Littelton, Coke, and Hargrave, are authorities enow, to prove a self-evident position. But, we are before the jury, upon questions of *fact*. The public accuser has employed three *fifths* of his Inquiry to fix palpable anachronisms upon the *Miscellaneous Papers*. Four *fifths* of this Apology are occupied, successfully, I trust, in proving, that his pretended anachronisms have neither solidity of argument, nor authenticity of fact, to support them, in their premises, or conclusions. Thus much, then, for the "*unreal mockeries*" of the public accuser (*m*).

We are now arrived, as it seems, "within sight of land." After dispatching Shakspeare's *tributary lines* to Ireland; the *view* of Ireland's house; and the *portraits* of Bassanio and Shylock; we have only three or four *deeds* to examine (*n*).

With regard to the *tributary lines* of Shakspeare to Ireland, the public accuser assures us, on the sincere word of an intelligent man, that there is not a young lady of fifteen, in Great Britain and Ireland, that would not, after reading her

(*m*) See Inquiry, 238.

(*n*) Id.

first novel, produce something more in character. Of the competency of the misses in Great Britain, and in Ireland, I pretend not to judge: They are all, no doubt, *fairfac'd and forward for their years*: But, I will presume, that a *bad joke*, even if expressed in terser English, than the public accuser's, does not amount to *good proof*, in any court of law, or court of criticism.

He is now determined to deface "the view of Masterre Irelande's house," by more substantial means, than a bad joke, inelegantly expressed. The only objection to it is, "that the word *view*, in the sense of a *delineation* of any object, was unfortunately wholly *unknown to our ancestors* (o)." Yet, of the twelve senses, which Johnson assigns to the word *view*, the first sense is *prospect*: and, for this sense, he quotes Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*:—

"—— you should tread a course

"*Pretty and full of view*:"——

Yet, says Mr. Malone, the word *view*, in this sense, is so completely modern, that it is not found in any of the vocabularies, which I have mentioned in the course of this Inquiry (p).

We

(o) Inquiry, 239.

(p) Inquiry, 240: He would not have hazarded this ob-

We now perceive, from *this view*, that Mr. Malone looks into *vocabularies*, and not into the body of our language, for his examples. If he will allow me, I will quote a book, which he certainly has in his library, and which will doubtless give him satisfaction: See Malone's Shakspeare, 1790, vol. i. part i. p. 80: "A *view* of Valiaunce, translated from "Rutilius Rufus, by Thomas Newton 1580:" And yet, says Mr. Malone, the word *view*, as now used for *prospect* came to us from the French, in the beginning of the present century (q). But, of such hallucinations enough! His apology is, that those fabrications were founded on archetypes, which were furnished by the edition of Shakspeare, published in (r) 1790, [by himself].

Of
 fervation, if he had looked into *Leigh's Science of Surveying*, 1577, Sign. I. 1.; wherein he would have been instructed, "How a surveyor should take a perfecte *view* of a manour;" and, in the subsequent page, he might have seen: "The towne of Dale; *the view* of the Mannour of Dale; "taken the x. day of May, the xiiii yere of the raign of "King Henry the eight."

(q) *Inquiry*, 241.

(r) In fact, Johnson regards *view*, in one of its senses, as a *prospect*; and *prospect*, as a *view*: They are so synonymous, that neither he, nor Ash, can easily separate their various shades

Of the prints of *Bassanio*, and *Shylock*, he pretends not to judge: But, he *believes* them to be spurious; as he has been told, “they are manifestly washed drawings of a recent date.” Here again he fails; unless we admit his belief for proof; and allow ourselves to be convinced of fraud; because he is now willing, from *bearsay* to let belief take hold of him.

In this believing mood, the public accuser examines the *agreement* between *Shakspeare* and *Lowine* (s). This contract comes into court, like other deeds, with every fair appearance of unsuspecting genuineness. The solemnities, which accompany it, bring with them all the probabilities of truth: And, this contract, being an ancient deed, must be admitted, in every court of criticism, as it would be, in every court of common-law, to prove itself, from the energies of its own evidence.

shades of signification: Yet, Mr. Malone can do this, so nicely, that he may exclaim with John Derrick, in *The Image of Ireland*, a poem, *devised* by him, in 1578, and published in 1581:—

“Lo Lordynges! here the draught,

“Sett out in open viewe:

“For, by instructions, I am taught,

“False forgynges to eschewe.”

(s) Inquiry, 244.

Yet,

Yet, is the public accuser ready to *bring forward* his special objections, which he will make out, with the clearness of demonstration, and support, with the firmness of truth. His first objection is to the expression *bring forward*, which is daily seen, at breakfast, in the play bills; but, he leaves it to “*the partisans of these manuscripts*” to ascertain how *ancient* this expression was first brought forward (*t*). The wit, the logic, the demonstration of his thrust sends it through and through: But, he will kill outright with his second thrust. The name of *Lowin* was never written *Lowine*, as it is exhibited in this deed (*u*): Yet, with the same dash of his pen, he produces a document, which proves, that there was no uniformity in the spelling of *Lowine’s* (*v*) name; and, consequently, if there were *no rule*, there could be

(*t*) Inquiry, 245.

(*u*) Inquiry, 250.

(*v*) “Lent unto John *Lowyn*, the 12th March 1602, when “he went into the contrey to playe v shillings.” Inquiry, 250; which quotes Henslowe’s MS. Register:—I think I have seen the name of this personage in the council-registers of the 15 March 1589-90, spelled *Laubon*. The name, however, may have been John Lanham; as there is a blur in the book. And in a list of the Lord Chamberlain’s warrants, 1632, in the paper office, he is called *Lowen*. It is then, absurd, to found an objection on an *uniformity of spelling*, which did not, in fact, exist.

no deviation. *Speak on, Sir; I dare your worst objections!* He goes on to object, that in 1608, the epoch of this agreement with Shakspeare, *Lowine* was low in his profession, and poor, in his circumstances: And, from these facts, he infers the improbability of his hiring himself to Shakspeare. In confirmation of this inference, he (*w*) asserts, that *Lowine*, “without doubt, had a half share, or some other portion of one, even in 1608 (*x*):” And, from this assertion, he infers this to be “a fatal circumstance for the deed before us.” Nay; if you will but allow the public accuser his *stand* and his *lever*, he will upset *the great globe itself*. He now takes his stand, with his lever; and he produces a genuine stage con-

(*w*) Inquiry, 253.

(*x*) If we may believe the date on his picture, Lowin, was born in 1576; and he died on the 8th of March 1658-9. In the sad period, which intervened, Lowin partook of the various misfortunes of the times: From the lowest commencement as a player, about the year 1600, he rose, in thirty years, to the top of his profession: In 1632, there were issued, “To Jo. *Lowen* and the rest of the players for acting twenty four plays; three at £.20. a piece, and twenty one at £.10. a piece—£.270.” [A list of the Lord Chamberlain’s warrants in the paper-office.] From this document it clearly appears, that the settled price, which was paid in 1632, for acting a play at Hampton-court was £.20, and at Whitehall £.10.

tract of this very period, that he says, “renders it quite unnecessary to say more on this part of the subject (y):” Yet, this *stage contract* is not between the same parties; nor does it contain any fact, circumstance, or point, which bears upon the agreement between Shakspeare and Lowine. As if an anachronism had been fixed in this agreement, with the certainty of a stroke of death, we are told, that “this true stage contract is as decisive a proof of the forgery as can be conceived (z).” Thus, easily, doth our Archimedes *upset* the agreement between Shakspeare and Lowine! Yet, is he determined to overturn this agreement by additional proofs of its forgery: The fabricator has introduced into this contract the word *composition*, as descriptive of a written work; which he believes *it did not then signify* (a): Spenser, indeed has the word, for the act of composing a work; but the highest authority, Dr. Johnson could find for *composition*, with the signification of a *book*, is L’Estrange (b). As if conscious of some

(y) Inquiry, 254. (z) Ib. 256. (a) Ib. 256.

(b) Ib. 257: Mr. Malone is continually talking of what Dr. Johnson *could find*; as if our great lexicographer had ever looked for the precise age of words; or had ever given himself

some deficiency, he faintly acknowledges the *impossibility* of proving a [an] *universal negative*: But, he apprehends, he has *brought forward* such evidence; as, having the appearance of truth, may be received as such, till some of his opponents shall produce the *contested words*, from a book of Shakspeare's age. When he finds the oar too weighty for his own handling, he constantly attempts to put it into the hands of his opponents. At this oar, will I tugg, when he shall have *satisfied reasonable inquirers*, that there is any logic in begging the question; or that proof is contained in assertion; or that a thousand fictions, how nicely so ever tacked together, by insinuations, and supposes, amount to one truth.

In this absurd strain it is, that he draws the attention to Master Lowine's *seal* (c). He shrewdly suspects, that, by the help of Herf-

himself any further trouble about words, than taking the nearest at hand, which answered his purpose. Had the Doctor, or Mr. Malone, looked into Barret's *Alvearie*, 1580, in vo. *Compacte*, they would have found *composition for verborum structura*, placing or compacting of *wordes together*: Yet, our inquirer supposes, that this word, in the sense of a book, came to us from the French about *the Restoration*. [Inquiry, 258.]

(c) Inquiry, 259.

chel's magnifiers, may be perceived, a well-formed head of some of our Saxon monarchs, which may have been copied from the engravings of (*d*) *Virtue*: [Vertue he should have said (*e*).] With the assistance of the logical spectacles of Watts, or Locke, I wot no which, he discovers, that the want of a *crest* and *cypher*, on the seal of Lowine, is an undoubted proof of forgery, in an agreement, to which is appended a *fancy seal*. Discoveries lead to discoveries. The clear *view*, which, by Herschel's help, we have thus had of Lowine's seal, will enable the biographer of Shakspeare to discover, with less powers of magnifying, whether our great poet had an appropriate seal. That he had not is certain, from incontrovertible evidence (*f*). If Shakspeare had not an appropriate seal, with either *speare in bend*, or a *crest* and *cypher*, what could we expect from Lowine, low, and poor, as he is stated to have been?

(*d*) Inquiry, 259.

(*e*) See Lord Orford's Cat. of Engravers from the MSS. of Mr. George Vertue.

(*f*) See Mal. Shak. 1790. vol. i. part i. p. 192-3, the signature and seal of Shakspeare's mortgage: The impression of the seal is H L, with an *Etoile surmounted*, as the heralds have it.

The

The public accuser, in attending to the seal, had almost forgot to object, that to this agreement, Shakspeare had subjoined, in a new mode of contraction, his baptismal name *Willam*: But, has he not subscribed *Willm* to his will (g)? Mr. Malone has not yet discovered, amid his other discoveries, as it seemeth, that there are forgeries, which cannot be detected by candid discussion. In this happy land, every forger, in whatsoever manner suspected, accused, or prosecuted, has a fair trial, and is convicted by *legal* evidence only, or acquitted. The public accuser seems to show, by the number, and nature, of his objections, that, if fair means fail, while he *racks the scribble* with Bacon, he rather would *torture the scribbler* with Elizabeth.

In this spirit, is the public accuser determined that, "Bitter torture shall winnow the truth from falsehood." He now applies *the question* to the agreement between Shakspeare and Condel (b). His first objection is, that this contract is extremely similar to the stage contracts of that age. With the same kind of logic, he objects, that Condel was a *sharer* in the profits of the house, and not a *hireling*,

(g) *Ib.* See the plate facing the will of Shakspeare: And see, before, the plate, facing p. 224.

(b) *Inquiry*, 260.

for wages: But, this is said, without considering, that this agreement is of a special nature; not to act in general, but to perform in particular plays of the composition, not of Shakspeare, but of *others*. Here again the *question* is unsuccessful, in extorting the truth. In this extremity, he resumes his objection to the word *composition*; as being unusual, during that age, in the signification of *writing* (*i*). But, he does not reflect, that the repetition of objections, which have been already shown to be groundless, is not likely to be more successful. Once more, then, *the question* fails, in extorting a confession. Thinking, no doubt, that an accumulation of bad objections will form one good objection, he suspects, that the salary of *one pound one shilling* a week favours much of a modern guinea. According to this rule of accumulation, he objects "to the pretty fiction of a trim boar's head;" being intended to pass for Shakspeare's seal: But, it has been already proved, that our poet did not use any appropriate seal. In this strain of logic, he objects to Condell's signature, without having any autograph, wherewith to confront it; or any circumstance, to oppose it; unless we admit conjectures, and

(i) Inquiry, 261.

supposes,

supposes, as circumstantial evidence. In superaddition to all this accumulated testimony, he states the *English indorsement* on the agreement, as *very curious*; and the unnecessary *th* after the *20*, as *very suspicious* (k). After all these experiments of the *question*, the culprit remains firm, and denies in the confident tone of innocence the imputed guilt. Little distrusting the efficacy of *bitter torture* to enforce instant confession, the public accuser,—

“ Astonish’d at the voice, now stood amaz’d;
“ And all around, with inward horror, gaz’d.”

It is BECCARIA, who, with mathematical precision, proposes the following problem, in law logic: “ The force of the muscles, and
“ the sensibility of the nerves of an innocent
“ person being given; it is required to find
“ the degree of pain, which is necessary to
“ make him confess himself guilty of a given
“ crime.” This problem is very ingeniously solved; by the public accuser, in examining Shakspeare’s *lease to Michael Frazer and his wife* (l). He at the same time, incidentally solves a supplemental problem; what degree of fatigue is necessary to make the beholder of such torture express impatience, at its mode, its matter, and its duration.

(k) Inquiry, 264-5.

(l) Inquiry, 265.

In solving those problems, his first objection to this *lease* is, that "it is a motley mass of trumpery (*m*)."
From such *sylogistick trumpery*, he proceeds, in his second objection, to scoff at those "ingenious, intelligent, and disinterested, persons," who considered an ancient deed, as admissible proof, *prima facie*; who regarded the parchment, the seals, and signatures, as sufficient evidence, either external, or internal, to establish a strong presumption, which, according as it is consistent with probable circumstances, must enforce a satisfactory conviction of the truth.

But, *this* conviction, arising from those circumstances, and that presumption, the public accuser proceeds to overturn, by minute examination, and demonstrable facts. The first point of his minute examination consists, in objecting to the description of the demised premises, which, he thinks, is too indistinct; being six acres and a half of land, *abutting close* to the Globe theatre, *by Blackfryers*. Thus, the Globe theatre is the land-mark, which, being ascertained, fixes the position of the contiguous parts. I have already settled the true site of the Globe, with mathematical precision, to be on the *Bankside*, within the

(*m*) Inquiry, 265.

liberty of the Clink, in Southwark. But, is this position *by* Blackfryers? The answer to this question must be given, according to the notions, which were affixed, by the parties, to the preposition *by*:—Among many other senses, Johnson says, from Shakspeare himself, that it denotes beside; near to; in presence; proximity in general (*n*): And, in the language of the post-office, *by* is understood to mean neighbourhood; so letters directed to John Styles, residing at St. Peter's *by* Margate, would be very intelligible to all the sorters, and carriers of the post-office, without the help of a critical vocabulary. But, the public accuser will show nicer discrimination, in his next objection: “The phrase *abutting to* “ [which is] here employed, is unknown to “ our language, *abutting upon* having been “ invariably the legal and colloquial lan- “ guage from the time of Shakspeare to this “ hour (*o*).” He who objects, with critical

(*n*) In Hollar's map of London, which was engraved at Antwerp, in 1647, *the Globe* is placed exactly on the site of the present Albion Mills; *abutting close* to Blackfryers-bridge. It may be of use to those artists, who may hereafter wish to give an engraved view of *the Globe*, to observe, that Hollar adorned *the flag*, which was displayed therefrom, with the *cross* of *St. George*.

(*o*) Inquiry, 268.

malignity, to *bad* English, ought himself to write *good*: And he, who has any critical candour, ought not to change a phrase, for the purpose of objection. The criticism will vanish, when the real words are discovered, as falshood vanishes at the appearance of truth. The genuine phrase of Shakspeare is "*abutting close* to the Globe." In this signification of *close*, as joined, without any intervening distance of time, or place; the English idiom, and use, required *close to*: "We must lay aside, says (p) Burnet, that lazy, and fallacious method of censuring by the lump, and must bring things *close to* the test of *true, or false.*"

The public accuser will, doubtless, be more lucky in his next objection. "It is observable, says (q) he, that in this deed, Blackfryers is spelt rightly." He had before, as we may recollect, objected to the erroneous spelling of Blackfryats. Our *Procrustes* is now determined, it seems, that this unlucky word shall be neither too long, nor too short; neither right, nor wrong.

In this spirit, the public accuser appeals from criticism to fact. Affecting difficulties in ascertaining, on which side of the Thames

(p) Theory. (q) Inquiry, 267.

the demised premises lay, whether on the Bankside, or in Blackfriars, he takes a *view* of both. He admits, that there certainly was in Southwark, some ground, unoccupied by buildings, in (r) 1596; but, he asserts, that the unoccupied ground lay more to the westward than the *Globe*.

Yet, let us confront what he admits, and what he retracts, with the accurate account, which is given by the historians of St. Saviour's parish; who, living on the spot, must necessarily know the local circumstances of what they daily see: "We will, however, give the general state of the Bankside, as we have pretty accurately collected it, from the year 1600: From various *title-deeds*, and other written documents, now extant, and without any reference to what has been written by others on the subject, we hazard not to assert, that *the Bankside* was in a great measure gardens, orchards, and in general an open, but cultivated, spot (s)."

Nevertheless,

(r) Inquiry, 269.

(s) Concanen and Morgan's *History and Antiquities of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1795, p. 191. The historians of the place might have appealed to the parish-registers, which confirm the truth of their representation. They might have relied on Norden's map of London, 1593, for

Nevertheless, says the public accuser, at an earlier period of the reign of Elizabeth, the ground, near where the Globe stood, seems *to have been almost all occupied*, though I do not doubt, there may have been, then some small gardens in that quarter (*t*). He forgets, that in 1575, the parishioners of St. Saviour's had a park, from which they agreed to send two loads of the first cut hay to the Queen's barns at Greenwich (*u*). As little does he recollect, that the Bishop of Winchester had a park which, *after the restoration*, was formed into Redcross-street, Queen-street, Duke-street, Ewer-street, Worcester-street, and Castle-street (*v*). And, there is a street, near the
brewhouse,

showing, that there was a long row of tenements on *the Bankside*, from the bridge, with gardens behind them. [And see Strype's London, vol. ii. p. 7.]

(*t*) Inquiry, 269.

(*u*) The parish-register, 12th June 1575. This register shows, that the parish-officers had, in those times, many tenements, with gardens behind them, to let, along the *Bankside*.

(*v*) See Tyler's Antiq. of St. Saviour's, 1765. p. 50-51. And see the charter of Edward 6th. to the corporation of London, dated the 23d April 1550, in Concanen and Morgan's History, p. 8—21, for the large parcels of vacant ground, within that parish, which were then granted to the city.

brewhouse, and *the windmill*, which is called, to this day, *the Park*, and will, from this time, be remembered with the *Globe theatre*; showing, by the coincidence of the name, that the *Globe* was probably built in, or *close to*, one of the *parks* of Elizabeth's reign. After this full exposition, the public accuser exclaims, with a very illogical grace: "till such an ancient
 " building as the *Globe theatre* by *Black-friars*
 " shall be proved to have existed in the reign
 " of *James the first*, together with six acres and

city. In tracing the progress of *building*, within three miles of London, we ought to advert to the various obstructions, which the law opposed to new erections. For this end; Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation against new erections, in 1580. [Ander. Com. vol. i. p. 421.] In 1593, was passed the statute of the 35th Eliz. ch. 6, prohibiting new buildings within three miles of the city gates: and prosecutions were instituted in the star-chamber against the offenders. In 1602, Elizabeth enforced this law, by a fresh proclamation. [Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 448.] Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, p. 216, when illustrating the fault of *overlabour*, gives the following passage from *one of our late makers*, whose intent was, to declare, how upon the tenth day of March, he crossed the river of Thames, to walk in St. George's field:

" The tenth of March when Aries received
 " Dan Phœbus' raies into his horned head;
 " And I my selfe by learned lore perceived,
 " That Ver approacht and frosty Winter fled,
 " I crost the Thames to take the cheerefull aire,
 " In open fields, the weather was so faire."

“ an half adjoining to it, this deed must share
 “ the same fate with the rest (*w*):” That is, it
 must be tortured, in the bed of Procrustes.

From making his survey, on the *Bankside*,
 which survey is, we perceive, contradicted in
 its outline, by history, and record, the public
 accuser proceeds to take a *view* of Black-
 friars (*x*). “ There were, he admits, in that
 “ district some void spaces certainly : but in
 “ general on the east side of Fleet ditch
 “ (where the theatre stood) was almost wholly
 “ occupied by houses.” I pretend not to as-
 certain, with algebraical accuracy, the exact
 quantity of vacant ground, which was still
 open for buildings, in 1610. It is sufficiently
 certain, from the representations of (*y*) maps,
 and the notices of record, that there were,
 even in the Blackfriars, considerable parcels
 of vacant ground, which might have been
 occupied, either by the gardener, or the
 builder (*z*).

Having

(*w*) Inquiry, 270-1. (*x*) Ib. 269.

(*y*) See Aggas's map of London, engraved, in 1737,
 by Vertue, for the Antiquary Society; and the re-engraved
 map of London, and Westminster, as they were in 1563.

(*z*) In the council-register, of the 18th August 1618,
 there may be seen “ A list of buildings and new foundations,
 “ since 1615.” It is therein said, “ That Edward Allen
 “ Esq^r

Having taken this *view*, which does not exhibit much research, nor enforce strong conviction, the public accuser adverts to *the lease*. He finds it difficult to decide, whether the draughtsman shows the most ignorance, the worse spelling, or the greatest incongruity of fiction, with the history, and manners of the time (a). These had been plausible objections, if he could have supported them by proof. He immediately adds, what he will, doubtless, prove by authority: “ Even the draughtsman’s *law* is all *false* (b).” In proof of this position, he produces some redundant expressions. But, if *surplusage* would vacate a deed, what deed could be defended? He strengthens his position, by suggesting, that this lease is not very skilfully drawn, nor its solemnities very accurately executed. Yet, it may be pertinently asked, whether observation, and fact, warrant this objection? The most experienced judges have often re-

“ Esq^r dwelling at Dulwich [the well known player, and
 “ munificent founder of Dulwich college] hath built six
 “ tenements of timber upon new foundations, within two
 “ years passed, in Swan-alley, near *the Wardrobe*.” In
 1618, King James followed the example of Elizabeth, in
 issuing a proclamation against new buildings. [Rym. Fœd.
 tom. xvii. p. 117.]

(a) Inquiry, 271.

(b) Id.

marked,

marked, that forgeries are sure to be precisely adjusted, judiciously drawn, and legally executed. In fact, there is no *false law* in the lease, if we except superfluity of expression, unskilfulness of penmanship, and ignorance of forms. But, at last, it will be found not to be defective in legal solemnities, like those assurances, and wills, which are sometimes executed, without the requisites, that positive statutes require.

In this strain of jurisprudential criticism, the public accuser remarks, with the acuteness of Coke, that this lease concludes, with “Anno Dom. (1610); which is not the abbreviation of the time, but either Anno Dñi., or A. Dñi., or An. Dñi. (c).” Thus, by showing these varieties, in the conclusion of deeds, he tries to maintain his objection to the want of a supposed uniformity, according to the real practice of the time; yet, he himself proves, by instancing the varieties, that his supposed uniformity did not in fact exist;

(c) Inquiry, 275: Had he looked into West’s *Symbolæographicæ*, which he sometimes quotes, he would have seen *An. Do.* in sect. 530; *Anno xxiiii Dom. nostræ reginæ Elizabethæ*; and *ANNO DOM. 1590*, in sect. 653.—We see, from this accurate authority, that the public accuser is unfounded, in his assumption of the fact; and, consequently, is unwarranted, in the confidence of his conclusion.

as we have seen in the *Symboleographie* of West. But, the public accuser thinks it prudent to justify his peculiar mode of criticism, by quoting a remark of Pope; who, when speaking of the early publishers of Shakspeare's dramas, observes, that their French is as bad as their Latin, and even their very *Welch is false* (*d*). The *false Welch* of Pope, who was, no doubt, as profound a critic in the Welch, as he was in the Greek, like the *false law* of the public accuser, is more easily stated, than fully proved.

He is now about to dispatch the culprit, by giving him the death-blow; and to dismiss the spectators, by freeing them from pain, at the same stroke. "Our poet at length leaves the scrivener in the lurch, says (*e*) he, with enigmatical obscurity, by subscribing his name to this deed, in plain and legible characters, William Shakspeare;" and he might have added, with full as much brilliancy of wit, and cogency of proof, *as our poet subscribed his will*. An error of the press is finally (*f*) objected, like the last, but incomplete, stroke of the executioner, which leaves the head adhering to the body, by the

(*d*) Inquiry, 271.(*e*) Ib. 276.(*f*) Ib. 275.

skin. After suffering the torture of such criticisms on the *lease* to Frazer, Shakspeare might, with Coriolanus, exclaim :

“ ————— Present me

“ Death on the wheel, or at wild horses heels;

“ Or pile ten hills, on the Tarpeian rock,

“ That the precipitation might down stretch

“ Below the beam of sight; yet, will I still

“ Be thus to them.”

The deed of trust to John Hemynge is, it seems, “the last legal instrument presented to us, in this *new ANTHOLOGY*.”—Were we to enquire of Johnson the meaning of the *word*, which seems here a little misplaced, even when taken ironically, he would answer; a *collection of flowers*, a *collection of devotions* in the Greek church; a *collection of poems*. All former absurdities must now, it seems, yield the palm to this superior absurdity: The thick-set *Cimmerian darkness* being bright sunshine, he adds, in well-supported metaphor, with the *vapid nonsense* of this fabrication (g). When the *Cimmerian*

(g) Inquiry, 276. In the subsequent page, we have the following clear, and consistent passage: Shakspeare is described in the genuine deed “as of Stratford upon Avon, *from whence* I am inclined to believe that he had then retired from the stage.” Johnson explodes *from whence*, as a *vitious mode of speech*: But, had the unidiomatical *from* been forgotten, the *inference* would have been ungrammatically

Cimmerian cloud has passed over him, the public accuser is left in bright sunshine to observe, that Stratford *on* Avon is suspiciously written for Stratford *upon* Avon; as if *uniformity* had been studied in the childhood of orthography (b).

But, however incredible it may be, that Shakspeare should not know how to spell the name of his birth-place, the public accuser, thinks it *utterly incredible*, that he, who was *a bit of an attorney*, who had a cousin an attorney, who had a friend an attorney, should transmit to posterity such a malevolent and unfounded stigma, on a most useful and honourable profession (i). The public accuser

cally drawn. To have made the passage good English, the critic ought to have said, from *which description*, "I am inclined to believe." It is to be remembered, that we are now upon a chapter of *vapid nonsense*; which might be extended, through all the mazes of *Cimmerian darkness*, to a most tiresome length.

(b) In the council-register of the 18th of March 1618, the birth-place of Shakspeare is spelt *Stratford-upo-Avon*;—*Stratford-upon-Haven*: In Speed's map of Warwickshire; 1610, this never-to-be-forgotten town, is called *Stretford upon Auen*; and, it is simply called *Stretford*, in Saxton's map of 1576. In the *Index* to Howe's chronicle, Mr. Malone might have seen *his suspicion* realized: "Stratford *on* " "Avon burnt, when, and how, 1004, 1, 36."

(i) Inquiry, 280.

supports

supports his position in his usual manner ; by reasoning against fact, and declaiming against argument. Does, then, Shakspeare never scoff at the law, and lawyers ? “ The bloody book
“ of law you shall yourself read in the bitter
“ letter (*k*).”

With all this knowledge of law, and lawyers, in his mind, Shakspeare thought fit to leave his matters in none of their hands, but to

(*k*) “ Resolution thus fobb’d as it is, with the rusty curb
“ of old *father Antick, the law.*”—Henry 6.

“ The state of law is bond slave to the law.”—Richard 2.

“ To give fear to use and liberty, which have for long
“ run by the *hideous law.*”—Measure for Measure.

“ When *law* can do no *right*, let it be *lawful*, that *law*
“ bar *no wrong.*”—King John.

“ In *law* what a *plea* so *tainted* and *corrupt*, but being
“ season’d with a gracious voice, obscures the show of evil.”
—Merchant of Venice.

“ Do, as adversaries in *law*, strive mightily, but eat, and
“ drink, as friends.”—Taming of the Shrew.

“ The first thing we do, lets kill *all* the lawyers.”—
Henry 6.

“ Crack the *lawyer’s* voice, that he may never more false
“ title plead.”—Timon of Athens.

“ It is like the breath of an *unfee’d lawyer.*”—Hamlet.

“ O’er *lawyer’s* fingers, who straight dream of fees.”—
Romeo and Juliet.

“ Why may not that be the scull of a lawyer? where be
“ his quiddits now.”—Romeo and Juliet.

trust his *tried friend* John (l) Hemynge; a circumstance this, which, for want of better evidence, is deemed a strong proof of forgery. The public accuser will immediately give a clue, to enable us to find our way out of this labyrinth of *folly* and *imposture*. This *clue*, which is thus to conduct us through this *nonsensical* labyrinth, consists, in supposing the very point to be proved. “This instrument
 “was made,” he says, “with a view at the
 “same time to cover and give some collateral
 “strength and authenticity, not only to the
 “lock of hair, love letters, and pictures already
 “noticed, but to all such trumpery of
 “the same kind as the credulity of the town
 “at any future period might digest (m).”

All

(l) It is a curious fact, that *John Hemynge* was appointed by Augustin Phillips, another fellow player, one of the overseers of his will; and the widow having married, contrary to the testamentary wish of Phillips, Hemynge proved the will, on the 16th of May 1607, and had administration granted to him. It is a remarkable coincidence, that he is called Hemynge in the will. [See the will, and the probat, which was supposed not to exist, in the prerogative office. And see a copy of the will which is hereinafter printed.] It appears, from every circumstance, that John Hemynge was altogether trust-worthy; being an active, bustling, discreet, honest, man.

(m) Inquiry, p. 283.—As we are still in a chapter of *nonsense*,

All this, it is easy to say, even in terser English; but is not so easy to prove; as his *pains is sorted to no proof.*

Passing over the orthography, which, as it had no uniformity, can furnish no objection against its uniformity, the public accuser goes on to consider the instrument itself. This was called, by Shakspeare, *a deed of gift*, to be executed after his death; it is improperly called, by the editor of the Miscellaneous *Papers*, which, however tedious, is useful for its examples, it may be proper to ask the meaning of some doubtful passages: "1st, These observations [which were] naturally suggested by Shakspeare, and stated in *the edition* which I had the honour to present to the public."—Edition of what? of the will; or of the works of Shakspeare?—2dly, "At the same time to *cover* and give some collateral strength:" To cover what? To cover collateral strength; to cover authenticity? The verb has here no subject.—3dly, "As the *credulity* of the town might digest:"—Credulity digest trumpery! What a maw credulity must have! He probably meant to say; credulity might be made to digest; or might be able to digest. In the Inquiry, p. 293, we have it, "as well as many others prove" [proves;] in p. 295, we see "the Blackfriars and Globe theatre" [theatres;] in p. 296, "he is somewhat niggard [niggardly] of his praise." This chapter on the *deed of trust* is particularly remarkable for uncommon specimens of such *Cimmerian* phraseology; which furnish additional proofs of the truth of that well-known axiom:

"Great wits sometimes may gloriously offend,

"And rise to faults true critics dare not mend."

§

pers,

pers, a deed of trust; and it is denominated, by the public accuser, with his greater knowledge of law, a *codicil*: Yet; “this CODICIL to an *unmade will* surely surpasses,” he says; “any instance of second sight that ever has been recorded in Scotland (n).” One assertion may be answered by another; leaving the wit, and propriety, of both, to future consideration. It may be affirmed, that this remark of his surpasses any instance of HALLUCINATION, which has ever been recorded in Ireland. The public accuser again opens one of the windows of his mind, for a moment. We discover, however, from this opening, his law opinion to be, that there cannot be a *codicil without* a testament. On the contrary, I maintain, that every written declaration of any person’s mind, with regard to what he will have done with his goods, and chattels, after his death, without appointing an executor, is a *codicil*: For, a *codicil* is the same as a last will, excepting that *it is without an executor*. Several *codicils*, any fit person may make, without making a will: Why should I quote Swinburn to prove what every sucking lawyer understands (o). Nay, a *testamentary*

(n) Inquiry, 284.

(o) Swinburn on Wills, part i. s. 5. and see “A *Codicil*

mentary schedule, without witnesses, or an executor, has been declared to be a will (*p*). Now, *the deed* of Shakspeare, whether it be deemed a codicil, or a will, if he had not made a subsequent will, had operated in law, as his last will: For, letters of administration would have been granted to John Hemyng, with the codicil, or will (*q*) annexed, which it would have been his duty to execute, according to the intention of the testator.

It would be a much more easy task, for the public accuser, to fix forgery on the last will of Shakspeare, in the prerogative office, than on the *codicil*, in the *Miscellaneous Papers*. Nothing protects the last will of Shakspeare from the imputation of forgery, but the place, wherein it is preserved. The manner, in “before the making of a Testament,” in West’s *Symbologie*, sect. 648: And West says expressly, in the subsequent section “that codicils may be made, without any testament, either precedent, or subsequent.” Mr. Malone, indeed, admits, “that this is a *will* rather than a deed of gift.” [Inquiry, 286.] Now, if Shakspeare’s deed of gift, be a *codicil*, this circumstance will over-rule the law, quoted in the same page, from Blackstone, as applicable to a *contract*, which must have a *sufficient consideration* to support it.

(*p*) 2d Lord Raymond, 1282, Powel v. Beresford.

(*q*) Lit. 168; Swinb. on Wills, p. i, s. 5. Br. Testament, 20.

which

which this instrument is executed, is extremely suspicious: The most acute observers have doubted, whether the three signatures of the testator, be all of Shakspeare's writing (*r*). The last will is full of interlineations, and blurs; from which the codicil is free. At the making of the last will, Shakspeare had forgotten his wife, till he was put in remembrance by the bystanders, that he had a wife, and he then left her *some kind of bed* to lie on (*s*): In the codicil, he is aware, that he has a wife, for whom he provides in a *husbandlike* manner: And, he is also aware how wrong it would be, *to wring a widow from her accustomed right*. When making his last will, he had nearly forgotten *his fellows*, Hemynge, Burbadge, and Condel: when making his codicil, he recollected all his fellows, who were worthy of remembrance; while making his last will, he was induced, by some monitor, to bequeath Hemynge, Burbadge, and Condel, *two marks* apiece, according to Mr. Malone's calculation, to buy them rings; but, by the codicil, he bequeaths to his several fellows, what was more

(*r*) Malone's Shaksf. 1790. vol. i. part i. p. 191: Mr. Malone indeed says, mistakingly, that the name at the top of the margin of the first sheet was probably written by the scrivener, who drew the will.

(*s*) Inquiry, 282.

congenial for a poet to give, and players to receive, his *dramas*, which have conferred immortality on them all. When making his *codicil*, the misbehaviour of his daughter Judith, whatever it had been, made him neglect her: When he made his will, he seems not to know, whether she were married, or not, or what to give her, after his best recollection. His *deare daughter* Susanna Hall, who *had alway demeaned herself well*, the testator made his residuary legatee, in both. Yet, the public accuser, after all his elaboration, does not remark, what experienced judges have often observed, that *fraud* generally adjusts circumstances with more precision, than *truth*, which, as it has nothing to conceal, is never circumspect about incidents.

He declares, however, that Shakspeare's legacy to his dear daughter, *who had always behaved herself well*, would have been void, for its *uncertainty*, according to a maxim of Lord Verulam: But his lordship has another maxim, which might have been quoted, for effectuating the will of the donor: that, "in
" contemplation of law, every thing is cer-
" tain, that may be reduced to a certainty." I will not dispute Lord Verulam's maxim, that an ambiguity, in a deed, cannot be holpen,
by

by an averment. Like other maxims, this is true in the general, but is not just, in the particular application: It may be true, when applied to a deed; but it is not just, when applied to a will: For, it was determined in Lord Cheney's case that, for explaining the doubtful words of a *will*, a *parol averment* may be admitted, to ascertain the person, who was intended, but not to alter the nature of the estate, which was devised (*t*). It would not, therefore, have required "some Ædipus to inform us," which of Shakspeare's daughters, Susanna, or Judith, had always demeaned *herself* well.

Yet, the public accuser, when he fails in overpowering Shakspeare's codicil, by his law maxims, is determined to raise suspicions of its genuineness, by a charge against it of novelty. For the *odd* sums given, such as twenty *seven* pounds, no probable reason can be assigned; all gifts and legacies, being usually *even* sums, such as twenty six pounds six shillings and eight pence (*u*). But, Shakspeare has himself assigned a probable reason: "They say there is divinity in *odd numbers* either on nativity, chance, or death." Who has ever before pretended to calculate the effects of *caprice*, in making gifts? Can any probable reason be

(*t*) 5. Rep. 68.

(*u*) Inquiry, 285.

assigned, why our inquirer has departed from the rules of logic; by begging the question, which he ought to prove; by shifting from himself to his opponents the labour of research, though it lay upon him to prove what they may, rightfully, deny. If he had said, that *all* gifts, and *all* legacies are *always* given in *even* sums, I would have shown by examples, “at this odd, even, and dull, watch of “the night,” that they were often conferred by design, or chance, without these odd sums being considered, “as manifest denotations of “fiction (*v*).” Such objections, and such

(*v*) The gifts to Shanke, and Rice, two low players, are chiefly observable, for the *absurd* sums allotted them; to one 37 shillings in money, and 18 shillings to buy a ring; and 39 shillings to another. “No number of nobles or marks will “make any [one] of these sums.” [Inquiry, 297-8.] In the wills of Heminge, Cundel, and Underhill, which have been published by Mr. Malone [Shaksf. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 191—199—212.] there is no allusion to *nobles* or *marks*. Heminge bequeathed *five* pounds; Cundel bequeathed *five* pounds: And, Underhill *was so absurd*, as to bequeath eleven shillings apiece, to each of his executors, to buy them rings. Why would not Mr. Malone read the will of Underhill, which would have warned him, as a beacon, against running his critical bark ashore upon the shoals of *odd sums*. Augustine Phillips bequeathed *an odd thirty shilling* piece in *gould* to Shakspeare: But, as Mr. Malone could not discover this interesting will of Phillips, he could not calculate whether a thirty shilling piece be an *odd sum*, or not.

reasonings,

reasonings, might tempt the believers to exclaim with the morose SWIFT :

“ But, man we find the only creature,
 “ Who, led by folly, combats nature ;
 “ Who, when she loudly cries, *Forbear,*
 “ With obstinacy fixes there ;
 “ And, when his genius least inclines,
 “ *Absurdly* bends his whole designs.”

The public accuser proceeds obstinately from his considerations about the bequests of odd sums, in his accustomed strain of *assumption*, though *nature loudly cries, Forbear*, to a minute examination of the particular legacies. Shakspeare's bequest to his *deare* daughter is not more unlucky, it seems, than the donation to “ the wittye Mastirr Armyne (*w*).” Had the donor called the player *gamesome* Master Armin, there would have been no objection. But, assuming what he ought to prove, the public accuser says, “ that the *fabricator*, has stumbled on a word [*wittye*] “ that bore no such meaning as was here intended to be affixed to it (*x*).” Of this inauspicious word *wittye*, he appears not yet to have had enough. He thus shows, by his own declaration, that he had never seen “ *Mæ-* “ *næcni*, which was printed, in 1595, a pleasant and fine conceited *comœdie*, taken out of

(*w*) Inquiry, 297.

(*x*) Inquiry, 297.

“ the most excellent *wittie* poet PLAUTUS (*y*) :” Nor, had he ever perused Harrington’s *Epigrams*; which, as they are *wittie* themselves, studiously speak of other *wittie* sayings (*z*). In a similar strain of argumentation, does he prove, “ that the various donations to the several actors named are as absurd, capricious, and incongruous, as those to his wife, and daughter :”—Continually proving things doubtful, by things as doubtful; without troubling himself much about the accuracy of his premises, or caring greatly about the justness of his conclusion,

(*y*) It was reprinted with five other old plays, on which Shakspeare founded his *Measure for Measure*; *Comedy of Errors*; *Taming of the Shrew*; *King John*; *King Henry VI. and Henry V*; and *King Lear*; by Nichols, in 1779. This quotation answers at once two objections; to *excellent*, as applied to writings; and to *wittie*, in the sense of smartness.

(*z*) Harrington’s *Epigrams*, 1618, wherein a diligent reader might have seen a *witty* speech of Heywood, the epigrammatist to Queen Mary; a *witty* answer of Bishop Bonner; a *witty* choice of a country fellow; a *witty* writer of this time. The objector is not more lucky in his observation on *Hemynge’s honour*; “ a phrase which the fabricator forefaw would come into use after his death.” [Inquiry, p. 301.] But is the assumption true? There is not, certainly, a word, in the dramas of Shakspeare, that is introduced, in a greater variety of phrases, than *honour*, which, we may say, with Prospero, “ cannot be measured or confined.”

Yet,

Yet, is he about to bring forward an objection, which will nullify Shakspeare's testamentary deed, by the decisive stroke of an apparent anachronism. The liberality of our poet, says (a) he, "fends, three pounds and " a gold ring after his *good Kempe*, who *appears* to have been *then* dead." We are ultimately referred, for proof of *the fact*, to the *Guls Horne-book*, which, when published, in 1609, says; "Tush, tush, Tarleton, " *Kempe*, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fools, " that *now* come drawling behind them, " never played the clownes part more naturally, than the arrantest sot of you all." The *Guls Horne-book*, we see, was obviously written in the style of satire, rather than the language of seriousness; to *gull* those critics, who believe, without reason, and doubt, without a cause. But, did not Lord Bacon, in 1618, speak of Allen, that *was* the actor; although *Ned* had only retired from the stage, and lived to endow Dulwich college? May not Kempe, in the same manner, have only retired from the scene, before the year 1609, and have probably lived to enjoy Shakspeare's

(a) Inquiry, 297, which refers us to Shaksf. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 197.

legacy?

legacy? Mr. Malone is equally (*b*) positive, that Thomas Pope, who also performed the part of a clown, *died before the year 1600*; and for *this assertion*, he quotes another *Guls Horne-book*, Heywood's *Apology for Actors*: Yet, have I found, in the prerogative-office, the will of Pope, the player, which was made by him, in 1603, when, the testator affirmed, he was of *disposing mind*; an evidence of thinking, which, our *Cartesian* must allow, is the very definition of *entity*. It is not, then, apparent, that Kempe was dead, in 1609. And every one, who is accustomed to weigh circumstances, in the scale of probability, will rather presume, in favour of life, that Kempe was probably living, and was legally capable to wear Shakspeare's ring, in open contempt of the *Guls Horne-book*.

The public accuser is not only determined to send Kempe to an untimely grave, but is resolved, by reviving an exploded question, to deprive Shakspeare of his *copy-right* in his never-dying dramas. "At that time, he says, "no notion of literary property was entertained, unless where a particular licence to print certain books by the crown." Yet, contrary

(*b*) Shaksf. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 198.

to loose assertion, the registers of the Stationers' company prove, that notions were even then entertained of literary property. In 1559, there are entries of fines, for invading *copy-right*: In 1573, other entries mention the *sale of copies*, with the prices. In 1582, the entries are still more remarkable; as some of them are made with a proviso, that *if it be found any other has a right to particular copies, then the licence for the copies so belonging to another shall be void*. This proviso, as it indicates a notion of *copy-right antecedent* to the licence, is a compleat answer to the question (c). “Shakspeare, therefore, well knew, it is said, that he had no title to any of his plays then “in the hands of his associates (d).” Yet, his associates positively declared, when they sent his dramas into the world, that he had a right to publish (e) them, though the actors,

to

(c) See Hargrave's Argument in Defence of Literary Property, p. 42-3.

(d) Inquiry, 290.

(e) See the player's preface; and see the entries on the 18th of January 1601, of the Merry Wives of Windsor, assigned by John Busby to Arthur Johnson; of King John, by assignment from Stafford, on the 6th of May 1605; of Shakspeare's comedyes and tragedyes, so many of the said copies as were not entered to other men, on the 8th of November

to whom they were assigned for the special purpose, may have had the privilege of presenting them on the stage. The right, then, of Shakspeare to dispose of his own dramas, was, in those times, indubitable, though under certain modifications, as to those plays, which he may have already disposed of to the players, or the printers (*f*).

Yet, the public accuser asks many questions, with regard to Shakspeare's gifts, to which he knows not what answer will be given (*g*). Why did none of the actors avail themselves of those valuable gifts, on the death of Shakspeare? Why did not Burbadge, and his fellows, print the *Tempest*, and the other dramas, which had been so long withheld? Why did not some of the actors institute a suit against Heminge to compel a specifick execution of the trust? Why did not Mrs. Shakspeare receive her own letters, rings, and other gewgaws? "To say ay, and no,

ember 1623: And on the 23d June 1632, sixteen of those plays, were assigned by Edward Blount to Edward Allot, who was one of the publishers of the second folio edition of Shakspeare's dramas. [Mal. Shakf. vol. i. p. 255-256-259-260.]

(*f*) See Professor Christian's argument, in *Black. Com.* vol. ii. p. 407.

(*g*) Inquiry, 302.

" to

“ to these particulars, is more than to answer
“ in a catechism.” One answer may, however,
be given to a thousand such questions. The
deed of trust being, in contemplation of law,
a mere codicil, was compleatly revoked, by
the publication of Shakspeare’s last will ;
whereby a different disposition of his property
was made, and a new trust created, which
was executed under a competent jurisdiction.
There are, moreover, other questions, with
regard to Shakspeare’s affairs, which the pub-
lic accuser asks, when *puzzled in mazes* ; yet
cannot answer, when *perplexed with error*.
He cannot tell, why John Hemings was made
a trustee by Shakspeare, when he purchased
his estate in Blackfriars ? Why did He-
mings, by a deed, dated the 10th of February
1617-18, convey that estate to the uses, de-
clared by Shakspeare’s will ? Would not the
estate have descended, as the will directed,
without the help of Hemings (*b*). Thus easy
is it to ask more questions in a minute, than
can be answered in a day. But, a little learn-
ing is a dangerous thing ; as we all know :
And, a little law-learning is a still more dan-
gerous thing ; as this disquisition on Shak-

(*b*) Inquiry, 303-4.

speare's deed of trust evinces. Yet, those dangers might have been avoided by the public accuser, had discretion warned self-sufficiency of the gulf, which separates ignorance from knowledge :—

- “ Be sure yourself and your own reach to know,
- “ How far your genius, taste, and learning go ;
- “ Lanch not beyond your depth, but be discreet,
- “ And mark that point, where sense and dullness meet.

After this indulgent hearing, nothing remains for me, but to submit to this court my *forepast proofs, howe'er the matter fall*, as the best apology for the believers, on this miscellaneous head of the Inquiry. The general argument, which is too solid to be overturned, by general reasonings, the public accuser undertook to confute, by particular investigations. He has offered his objections, which, in my turn, I have fully examined. Presumptions so equally weigh against presumptions, as “ to poise the cause in justice' equal scales, whose beam stands sure.” It is for the equity of this court, while thus, *doubts stand even*, to decide either in favour of innocent *belief*, or in condemnation of accusing *scepticism*.

— § VII. —

THE LEARE; AND HAMBLETTE.

The public accuser at length proceeds from “the farrago of papers and deeds” to *Leare* and *Hamblet* (a). “Three words on this subject will suffice,” he says (b). “Had the fabricator of this piece [these pieces, *Leare*, and *Hamblet*,] been content to exhibit it as a play-house copy, it had been a curiosity, but he has ventured to write in the first page—“Tragedye of Kynge Leare isse fromme Masterre Hollinshedde I have inne somme lyttle deparretedde from hymme butte thatte LIBBERTYE will notte I trust be blamedde bye mye gentle Readerres” W^m. Shakspeare.”—“If it is [be] not of Shakspeare’s own hand, it is nothing (c).”

In this opening paragraph, we have some admirable specimens of *those faults*, which great wits may *gloriously commit*; and which *true critics* dare not mend.

But, the public accuser will, doubtless, be more fortunate in his *matter*, than he has been happy in his *manner*. By speaking decisively of *the fabricator* of those pieces, in

(a) Inquiry, 304.

(b) Id.

(c) Ib. 304-5.

the outset, he takes for granted the very point, which he undertook to prove. Like a great *wit*, he overleaps the *vulgar bounds* of logic, and, without *passing through the judgment*, at once comes at his end. He, however, does make some objections, which he thinks decisive proofs of undoubted forgery. The fabricator apologizes "for the *liberty* he has taken in departing from the historian; a word not used in that sense till long after his death. The term of his age (here required) was *license* (*d*)."
 We have now another substitution of mere averment, for promised evidence. If we look, however, into Cooper's *Tbesaurus*, 1573, we shall find *libertas*; *liberty*, in a good sense; *licentia*; *licence*, or immoderate liberty, in a bad sense. Now; what does Jacques ask for?

"——— I must have *liberty*

"Withal, as large a charter as the wind,

"To blow on whom I please; for so fools have.

Jacques does not, then, ask for *liberty*, to do what is fit; but for *licence*, to do what he pleases: And, in the same spirit, the Duke,

(*d*) Inquiry, 309. The more curious reader will please to observe, that I have printed, and pointed, the above quotation, exactly as it is in the *Inquiry*; that the reader may fairly judge of the *great wit's* matter, as well as his manner.

in *Measure for Measure*; describing a state of anarchy, says :

“ And, *liberty* plucks *justice* by the nose;

“ The baby beats the nurse; and quite athwart

“ Goes all decorum.”

Now; does *liberty*, in a good sense, pluck *justice* by the nose; or, is it the *licence*, with which the baby beats the nurse? Nor, can there be a more anarchial state of *indecorum*; except when the critical baby beats the *poetical nurse*, which has fostered him for thirty years; because she will not *blow on whom he pleases*.

But, the public accuser is now determined “ to show by a single glance, that it [Leare] “ is a plain and palpable forgery (e).” “ To “ prove this decisively, he (f) says, it is only “ necessary to quote a single passage from it.” After avowing, that he has not collated any part of this *tragedye*, except one speech; after asking, whether Shakspeare knew verse from prose, or sense from nonsense; he produces from the first act, and fourth scene, a speech of poor distracted Lear, which, in its amended state, is sufficient to *shake our manhood*; and which, as it was first published, is one of the most corrupted passages in the dramas

(e) Inquiry, 305.

(f) Id.

of Shakspeare (g). Scarcely any scene has given rise to more controversy, among the commentators, about the true reading, and genuine sense. The question has never been,

(g) I give this never-to-be-forgotten passage from the 4to edition of 1608, as it was republished, in 1766 :

“ Lear :—What, fifty of my followers at a clap, within a fortnight ?

“ Duke :—What is the matter Sir ?

“ Lear :— Ile tell thee, life and death ! I am asham'd
 “ that thou hast power to shake my manhood
 “ thus, that these hot teares that breake from me
 “ perforce, should make the worst blasts and fogs
 “ vpon the *untender woundings of a father's curse,*
 “ peruse sense about the olde fond eies, beweepe
 “ this cause againe, ile plucke you out, and you
 “ cast with the waters that you make to temper
 “ clay.”

Such is Lear's speech, in the first quarto. Yet, the public accuser thinks it is much more probable, that those very rare editions [the early quartos] were beyond the reach of the fabricator. [Inquiry, 308.] True it is, however, as a thousand witnesses can testify, that the editor of the *Miscellaneous Papers* was possesst of the quarto edition of *Lear*, 1608 : And, from this fact, a public accuser, who had been more ready with real, than groundless, objections, might better *have served his uses, both in purse, and person.* He thinks the *second folio* was very *german to the matter in hand*, and was very properly chosen for the basis of a new fiction. [lb. 308.] The only difference, however, between the *basis* and the *superstructure*, is, that the first is in *metre*, the second in *prose* : a difference this, which his prejudices against both did not allow him to distinguish.

till

till now, whether Shakspeare knew verse from prose, or sense from nonsense:—But, the difficulty has ever been, with the most learned, and the most acute, to discover, amidst so much uncertainty, what he really wrote. The *player-editors* professed, indeed, to give our poet's *comedies, histories, and tragedies*, “absolute in their numbers as he conceived them.” Yet, when they *escaped* the players, the works of Shakspeare, says Warburton, did not fall into better hands, when they came amongst printers, and booksellers: The *stubborn nonsense*, with which the poet was incrufted, occasioned his lying long neglected amongst the common lumber of the stage (*b*). From the days of Rowe, it has been the continual endeavour of genius and diligence, of solid sense and active intelligence, of the acutest intellect and the profoundest learning, to remove the incrustations of nonsense, and to clear our author from the lumber of the stage.

If, then, the finding of *nonsense*, in the dramas of our immortal poet would throw a suspicion upon their genuineness, which of them would be free from the charge of spurioufness? If a question had arisen, in 1609, whether *The*

(*b*) Warburton's Preface.

Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters, were the genuine work of Shakspeare, it would have been a manifest proof of forgery, according to the logical canon of the public accuser, to have quoted the before mentioned speech, nonsensical, and unmetrical, as it is undoubtedly. The argument, then, which was to be decisive, appears now to decide nothing. But, he has still more of the same decisive arguments to produce. "As the whole of this play is in the hand-writing, assigned to Shakspeare, and as *it is manifest that it cannot be genuine*, it follows necessarily, that it is an absolute forgery;" as if the hand-writing of Shakspeare were indisputably ascertained; as if Shakspeare, like other poets, did not sometimes write (i) feebly: as if sophistry were *german to the matter* of argument. Here, he again fails, unless *assumption*, and *proof*, be the same.

From such reasonings we are, at length, conducted to the last scene of Lear, which exhibits the concluding speech of Kent, that has embarrassed the critics, and divided the commentators:—

(i) His declamations, or set speeches, says Johnson, are commonly cold, and weak. [Preface.]

"I have

“ I have a journey, Sir, shortly to go,

“ My master calls, and I must not say no.”

In the *last* edition, we have, in the place of this couplet, which has not been deemed the most energetic, in the sentiment, or the most explicit, in the language, the following speech of Kent:—

“ Thanks, Sir; but I go to that unknown land,

“ That chains each pilgrim fast within its soil;

“ By living men most shunn’d, most dreaded:

“ Still my good master this same journey took;

“ He calls me, I am content, and straight obey:

“ Then, farewell world, the busy scene is done;

“ Kent liv’d most true, Kent dies most like a man (*k*).”

These verses, which Shakspeare need not have been ashamed to own, are reprobated, as not at all *Shakspearean*. The two lines, which, however short and bald, are certainly genuine, have been beaten out, we are told, and amplified into seven (*l*). But, the public accuser forgets, that there is a new, and important, sentiment introduced, and expanded: The editor of 1790 insists, that Shakspeare meant to throw Kent into

(*k*) Upon the authority of Johnson, who says, that the pointing of Shakspeare’s dramas is in our own power, I have taken the *liberty*, (*licence*, I should have said,) to point, in my own way, this reprobated speech of Kent, who “ liv’d most true, and died most like a man.”

(*l*) Inquiry, p. 309.

distracted, but not into the grave: In these lines, the *late editor* dispatches Kent to that *unknown land*, which *chains each pilgrim fast within its soil*. Here, then, the public accuser fails. The supplemental verses are not better, he says, than any poetical schoolboy could write: The couplet of the first edition is not better, I say, than any poetical boarding-school Miss could write. Here, again, he fails. Those seven lines have been (*m*) quoted, it seems, by somebody, for *want of better arguments*, as teeming with energy, and pathos (*n*). For *want of better arguments*, the public accuser prefers the old couplet; which is so unintelligible, as not to be understood, without the help of comments. Strange! that he will not recollect the duty, which he owes to his public engagement; viz. to prove the *intelligible* lines to be *spurious*, by his own strength, rather than by his opponent's weakness.

But, the *busy scene is done!* The public accuser now recurs to *negative* arguments; because, he doubtless thinks them the best. The lines throughout are numbered in the margin, a *practice unexampled in our author's time*, he (*o*) says; as if there were not always

(*m*) Inquiry, 309.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) Id.

exceptions

exceptions to the general practice; even if the fact had been proved, rather than asserted. The manuscript plays, which he possesses, or all which he had ever seen, are written on both sides of the sheet, he adds; but, the *half covered Leare* is only written on one of the sides; as if it were possible to establish a general practice from *half a dozen old plays* of Shakspeare's (*p*) time; as if it were easy to account for the fancies of design, or the varieties of chance. He sheds *the tears of lamentation*, that only four and twenty paper marks are mentioned, and not one *fac simile* is given, as a proof of the antiquity of the paper; as if the *archæology* of paper marks had been yet settled, by collecting the names of paper makers, in that age, and exhibiting the mark of each.

From the inconclusiveness of negative arguments, he proceeds to the more cogent decisiveness of affirmative statement. He now goes on to instruct the world, how old paper may be easily procured; for the execution of such a scheme of literary fraud (*q*). But, he forgets to show, how the paper of this *half covered Leare* was obtained, whether from the

(*p*) Inquiry, 309. (*q*) Inquiry, 310.

door-keeper of the *paper-office*, or from the *book-binder* of Cambridge. The *household books* of *ancient families*, indeed, the public accuser admits were out of the reach of the never-to-be forgotten country gentleman. But, though he can tell where old paper may be found, for any fabrication, he has never met with one person, who had ever seen the *half covered Leare*, “or even a single sheet of it (r):” It was produced, it seems, to the *admiring croud*, in *single leaves*, that is, “as fast probably as “the country gentleman could write it (s).” These positions are gravely stated, in the presence of a thousand persons, who have seen the Lear, in its *integrity*, *whole*, and *entire*, who could have informed him, how *it was sewed*; what number of leaves it contained; and *whether* the *edges* were in their *natural rough state*. The said thousand persons could have, moreover, told him, that his whole conception of the *half covered Lear* is completely erroneous. But, the public accuser has retailed his misconceptions, in *broken sentences*, and *single leaves*; in order to represent “the believers in these fictions,” as persons, who had neither common sense, to perceive a pal-

(r) Inquiry, 311.

(s) Id.

pable imposition, nor common honesty, to reprobate an obvious cheat. Yet; who would not, in a choice of difficulties, rather wish to be *deceived*, than to *deceive*! The public accuser may find his true justification, by lamenting with DAVIS, in his *Nosce Teipsum*:

“ What can we *know*? or what can we *discerne*?

“ When *error* chokes the windowes of the mind!

On this head of the Inquiry, with regard to *Leare* and *Hamlette*, the believers will only add, in the *fair presence* of this critical court, as their best apology:

“ _____ — O! *error*, soon conceiv'd,

“ Thou never com'st unto a happy birth;

“ But, kill'st the mother, that engender'd thee.”

The public accuser, by raising *the expectancy* of some fragments of Shakspeare, was himself *the mother* of this *soon conceived error*. Whether, in fulfilment of the forebodings of *the seer*, this *error* will kill, by an *unhappy birth*, *the mother* that engendered it, is a fate, which can be known only to those, who pretend to *second sight*. One truth is, however, certain, as the said *seer* assures us:

“ Oft *expectation* fails, and most oft there,

“ Where most it promises; and oft it hits,

“ Where hope is coldest, and despair most fits.”

§ VIII. —

SHAKSPEARE'S NOTE OF HAND.

It is foreign to the purpose of this Apology to go into considerations, concerning those documents, which, as they have been scarcely seen, and never published, seldom attracted much attention, or were the objects of much regard. Every question about such documents, whether defined, or undefined, proper, or improper, must be answered by those, who, being *intimates*, may be supposed to be best qualified to search out “ what’s past, and “ what’s to come.” It is of more use, as it may afford more instruction, to investigate the subject of the *note of hand*, which was reserved for this place; in order to consider, at once, what has been advanced by the public accuser, and what has been urged by his learned (*a*) coadjutor, after *turning over his law books*.

It is unnecessary to repeat, here, the minute criticisms of the public accuser, were they less tedious; as they have been already answered: Indeed, he himself declares, that “ he wants no “ aid from these minute observations: *The whole*

(*a*) Inquiry, 133; Appx. N^o I.

“ is an evident forgery (b).” To this assertion, he adds another ; as if the accumulation of assertions amounted to the fulness of proof: “ I run no hazard,” he says, “ when I assert, “ that *no such form of promissory note* existed “ at that time (c).” In order to prove his negative assertion, with respect to the *uniformity*, both in matter, and manner, of *unsealed* bills, he immediately produces three *unsealed* bills of different forms (d) : And, it thus appears, from *his own proofs*, that the *unsealed* bills of Shakspeare’s days were extremely different, in their matter, and form (e) : And, from *his*

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(b) Inquiry, 137.

(c) Ib. 140.

(d) Ib. 141.

(e) I will subjoin two other forms of *unsealed* bills, in order to prove fully, that there was then no *uniform manner* in drawing them ; and that, consequently, an objection to the want of uniformity to a supposed standard is groundless:—

“ Memorandu^r borrowed of Mr. Richard Remchinge
 “ gent. the xxxth: of July 1596 : ./ the somme of fortie
 “ shillinges whiche I promyse to paye att all tymes vpon de-
 “ mande & in wittnes heareof I have subscribed my name
 “ the daye & yeare first above wryten : ./

E: Slansfeilde

“ More I doe owe fyve shillinges
 “ so in all xlv^s : /
 “ More borrowed fyftene shillinges
 “ Somma totall—iij li.

The

own shewing, it follows, that there did not then exist any *set form* of promissory notes. The public accuser fails, then, in proving either his *negative* position, that *no such form of promissory note existed, at that (f) time*; or his *affirmative* position, that there then existed an uniform mode, in writing *unsealed* bills, which was quite different from Shakspeare's note.

After all those failures, the public accuser is studious to show how *very ignorant* the fabricator of this note, undoubtedly, was. With-

The original of Slansfeilde's note of hand was obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Craven Ord. The following *unsealed* bill, which exhibits a *fifth* variety, I copied from the parish registers of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the very site of the Globe Theatre.

“ Memorandum—That whereas upon the 2d daye of
 “ July 1590 Gilbert Rocket now one of the churchwardens
 “ of the parish of St. Saviour's in Southwark in the county of
 “ Surrey did lend unto the rest of the church wardens for
 “ the use of the parish the some of fiftye poundes good
 “ and lawful money of England towards the payment sute
 “ & fyne for the lease of our parsonage: It is pro-
 “ mised and agreed by the churchwardens and vestrymen
 “ hereunder written, that the said some of fiftye poundes shall
 “ be repayde unto the said Gilbert Rocket, his executors,
 “ or assigns at and uppon the second daye of Julye which
 “ shall be in anno 1591, without any fraud, coven, or fur-
 “ ther delaye”

(Signed) &c. [The names.]

(f) Inquiry, 140.

out

out disputing about the ignorance, or the knowledge, of *so obscure a personage*, it may be admitted, without controversy, that the *editor of the Miscellaneous Papers* was ill informed, or ill advised, to call this *common assurance* of Shakspeare, "a note of hand," which neither Shakspeare, nor Heminge, who were the parties to the transaction, call it themselves. From them it did not receive any name. And by them, it was left, without a name, like other legal instruments, to find its own way in the world, and to support, if necessary, its own sufficiency, in Westminster-hall. If this fact had been attended to, much learned investigation would have been saved, and much witty writing spared; to the no small disappointment of the curious reader.

The truth is, that the word *bill* is the most ancient term, and is of Saxon (*g*) derivation, while the word *note* is a modern upstart of uncertain extraction. Before, and after, the days of Shakspeare, *bill* was the common word for *any writing*. And, from this original signification, we still have, in the present times, in daily use, bills of exchange, bills of lading, bills of store, bills of sufferance, bills of par-

(*g*) Skinner, in Vo.

cels. The term *bill*, however, was, in Shakspeare's days, and by our great poet himself, more confined in its sense; being particularly appropriated to evidence some *simple contract*, or money lent, and borrowed (*b*). Yet, the word *note* began to be used, during those times, to signify a schedule, or short memorial of familiar transactions (*i*). From this brief account, we may perceive, how memorandums for goods bought, or money borrowed, came to be called *bills* of debt, which were sometimes sealed; and which, according to the circumstances, whether sealed, or unsealed, had very different operations in law.

(*b*) In *Much ado about Nothing*: "Have a care that your *bills* be not stolen:"—In Hen. 6:—"When shall we go to Cheapside, and take up commodities on our *bills*:"—In *Timon of Athens*: "All our *bills*;"—knock me me down with them."—In June 1588, a warrant was issued to deliver to the Earl of Leicester all his *bills*; testifying the receipt of twenty thousand pounds. [Murden, 788.] In the state papers of that period, letters, and other familiar writings, are called *bills*.

(*i*) Sir Thomas Heneage, in writing to Lord Burghley, on the 4th of September 1570, of a particular transaction, promised "to keep the *note* thereof for him." [Haynes, p. 606.] Sir Thomas Gresham, in writing to Lord Burghley, in 1572, speaks of the particular *not* of the money. [Murden, 217.]

The three instances, that were produced by Mr. Malone, and the two now laid before the public, are *unsealed bills of debt*, which, in the present times, would be called *notes of hand*. But, none of these, he adds, “were indorsable over, nor could any action at law be maintained on them.” Those notes of hand were not, indeed, *indorsable over*, according to modern practice; but, they were assignable; and in fact, were often assigned, in payment for goods, or in satisfaction for debts. That *an action at law could not be maintained on them* is an assertion, which is hazarded, without consideration: For, it must be deemed inconsistent with our jurisprudence, contrary to the maxim, that there can be no wrong without a remedy, and adverse to the great authority of Coke-Lyttelton (*k*). Here is another example, that a little law-learning is a most dangerous thing. The public accuser, indeed, assigns the true reason for that assertion: “I did not think it necessary,” says he, “to

(*k*) 56 A. It is an established point, “that when the common law gives a right, or makes a thing an injury, the same law gives a remedy, or action.” [1 Salkeld’s Rep. 20-21; 6 Mod. Rep. 54.] Now; is not an *unsealed bill of debt* a legal evidence of a right withheld?

“ *turn over my law books, or to go deeper into the subject (l).*”

Let us now attend to the learned coadjutor of the public accuser, who *does turn over his law books*, and does go deeper into the subject (m).

Like a true *Cartesian* jurist, this learned person begins his disquisition *by doubting*. He doubts, whether any such instrument as Shakspeare's note to Heminge is known to have been in use at that period (n). He sees three such notes before his eyes; and he might have seen three hundred, in the practice of that period: Yet, he doubts the existence of such notes of hand, during the age of Shakspeare. *Cartesius* never doubted, whether he could *think*: But, this learned person, when he observes *unsealed* bills before his eyes, doubts, whether he can *see*.

In this spirit of doubting he turns his eyes from *the fact*, to examine the black-letter law, the reports, and the year-books; in order to prove the non-existence of *unsealed* bills. He discovers, that the personal securities, which were used, in the time of Shakspeare, and for

(l) Inquiry, 142. (m) Ib. 369,—Appx. N^o I.

(n) Inquiry, 371.

centuries before, were either obligations, called bonds, or bills, which were sometimes called *bills of debt*, or bills obligatory; and which were equally *deeds*; requiring to be signed, *sealed*, and delivered. “It would be idle, he immediately adds, to multiply authorities to prove, that there was always a seal to these bills (*o*).” Idle would it be, indeed; to quote Cowel, and Coke-Littelton, to prove, *that there was always a seal to a SEALED bill*. The coadjutor was inquiring, whether there existed, in fact, during Shakspeare’s age, *unsealed* bills: And, he multiplies authorities to prove, that there were, in that age, *sealed* bills, both in fact, and law. But, there is one authority, which he does not quote, *Bacon’s Use of the Law*. That great writer, in treating of the series, wherein legacies are to be paid, says;—“but this is to be understood, by debts of record to the King, or by bill, and bond *sealed*, or arrearage of rent, or servants, or workmens, wages; and not debts of shopbooks, or bills *unsealed*, or contracts by word (*p*).” And, thus, the fact supports the authority of Bacon;

(*o*) Inquiry, 372; which quotes Cowel, and Coke-Littelton.

(*p*) I quote from the edition of 1635, p. 71.

as the authority of Bacon explains the operation of the fact. Of Mallet, it was remarked, when he wrote the life of Bacon, that he had forgotten, Bacon was a philosopher: This learned person, when treating of a law question, forgets, that Bacon was a lawyer. And, is it necessary to prove, that Bacon, as he was born, in 1561, and died, in 1626, was the contemporary of Shakspeare; who was born, in 1564, and died, in 1616?

It is, however, of some importance to show, that *the law* will not always prove *the fact*; though *the fact* may sometimes prove *the law*. Were it a question, whether there existed in England, during that period, any gaming-houses, the learned coadjutor of the public accuser would, doubtless, quote the statute of the 33 Henry 8, which prohibited such houses; in order to prove the fact, that there could have been none: Yet, that this evidence is inconclusive, a little inquiry would have satisfied him. Queen Elizabeth, in the 28th of her reign granted to Thomas Cornwallis a license "to make graunts for keeping of gaming-houses, and using of unlawful games, contrarie to the statute of 33 Hen. 8. (g)" We now perceive, that an act of parliament

(g) Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 161.

itself is not conclusive evidence, to prove *the fact* asserted; which is established by different evidence of superior force. "There are no tricks in plain and simple faith." When *the fact* rises in the horizon, by the production of *unsealed* bills of various kinds, the strong beams of *truth* soon disperse the clouds of reports, year-books, and law authorities, which, in the present day, *only obscure the scene, which they once illuminated* (r).

But, this learned person persists in asking, "Were there no instruments, like this in Shakspeare's name, then used by merchants, and others in their confidential transactions? It will be found, on the contrary, that the want of them was a theme of complaint for more than half a century after his death." He perseveres, nevertheless, in this dark search,

(r) The famous Richard, Earl of Warwick, on the 2d of November 1454, wrote to Sir Thomas Todenham to borrow ten, or twenty pounds; promising "We shall send it you again afore new-year's day, with the grace of God, as we are a true knight." [Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 87.] Here, then, is a curious specimen of an *unsealed* bill of *knight-hood*. To this bill, however, the learned Mr. Sergeant Vavafor would have objected: "Here are no words of obligation; for a *promise* does not constitute an *obligation*." [Inquiry, 376.] There is scarcely an absurdity, that some philosophers have not maintained: And, hardly a chicanery, which some lawyers have not practised!

though *the fact* was blazing before his eyes : For, there undoubtedly were *unsealed* bills, in the practice of England, before Shakspeare was born. I have produced a genuine *note of hand*, dated, in July 1596. The public accuser has produced three *unsealed* bills, of various forms. His learned coadjutor has seen, in the well known treatises on *common assurances*, *unsealed* bills of every shape. Lord Bacon spoke familiarly of *unsealed* bills ; and assigned them their proper rank among book debts, and verbal contracts (s). Yet, notwithstanding all those authorities, the learned person “ plays fast and “ loose with faith : so jests with heaven.”

It will be found, on the contrary, that it was not the want of *unsealed* bills, but the want of *negotiable* qualities in them, which was the real “ theme of constant complaint.” The learned person will quote the statute of (t) Anne, which was made to give those ne-

(s) The Statute of Usury, 13 Eliz. ch. 8. makes void “ All bandes, contractes, and assurances, collaterall, or other :” This proves how various *common assurances* then were. Sir John Harrington has an epigram “ On one that lent money “ on sure band :” —

“ And for your more assurance you shall have
 “ What obligation, you yourself will crave ;
 “ Or bill, or band, your payment to performe,
 “ Recognizance, statute, or any forme.”

(t) 3-4 Ann. ch. ix. Inquiry, 394.

gotiable

gotiable qualities to *unsealed* notes; in order to prove, in contradiction to the fact, that such notes did not exist before the statute: Yet, the practice of the country, and the proceedings of the courts, as they are reported by the lawyers, and quoted by him, evince, that such notes did exist, and circulate among traders; though the recovery of them, by suits at law, was obstinately opposed, by *chibane in ermine*. But, I will not quote proceedings, which do no credit to the judges, who were unconscious, that the law continually grew under the benches; and who had not then learned to facilitate the administration of justice, by applying the principles of the common law to the common practice of the country; as often as the spirit of commerce introduced new modes of business.

The struggle, which was thus so long maintained in our jurisprudence, by the spirit of commerce, as it forced its way in the world, and the courts of justice, actuated as they were by prejudice, rather than principle, proves clearly, that *unsealed* notes did exist, did circulate; and were assigned, in fact, though they were not assignable, in law, during a century, previous to the statute of Anne. The report of the Board of Trade,

in December 1697, is a proof of this (*u*) point; by showing, that bonds, bills, and notes, were assigned, though not so frequently as necessity required. At the epoch of the Restoration, it was a common practice to pay debts, by assignment of other debts, and to transfer documents, by daily sale (*v*).

(*u*) "And whereas a great part of trade is carried on by credit, and trust in dealing, We humbly conceive, If it were enacted, that it shall not hereafter, be in the power of any person, that hath by any writing, under his hand, testified by two witnesses, assigned or transferred, any bond, bill, or note, made to him by any other person, to make void, discharge, or release the said bond, bill, or note, or any of the money due on such bond, bill, or note, or any part thereof, after such assignment, made on the said bond, bill, or note, but that such assignee shall have the same right, power, and authority to sue such persons, indebted by such bond, bill, or note, in *his own name*, and to recover the money so due, as if such bond, bill, or note, had been made originally to himself; that then, traders would *more frequently* take bonds, notes, or bills, for such goods, as they may sell, to be paid at time, and would transfer, and assign, the same to others, as their occasions may require: And thereby make such bonds, bills, and notes very useful and subservient for the carrying on, and increasing of trade."

(*v*) See, *The Scales of Commerce*, by Thomas Willsford, printed in 1660, fig. 2. which, as a treatise of book-keeping, showing the practice of mercantile business, is a better authority, than a law report, showing the practice of the courts of justice; which was governed by artificial principles, rather than by the usages of commercial life.

But,

But, this practice, which necessity dictated, and convenience approved, was of a much older origin. The case, which is reported by Malynes, of a foreign factor, who purchased baize at Colchester, to be paid for in the bill of debt of a third person, would alone prove *the fact* (w). One of the first acts of King James's government, after his accession, was, to prohibit, by proclamation, *the assignment of debts, and actions* (x). The practice, then, of *assigning debts*, was common, during the reign of Elizabeth. And, the accustomed business of the city of London was very different from what the reports of suits in Westminster-hall seem to represent, as the varied transactions of mercantile bodies (y): Here, then, is another

(w) Malyne's *Lex Merc.* edit. 1622, p. 99: The bills were not, at that early period of our mercantile affairs, indorsed over, according to modern forms, but assigned, and often renewed to the assignee; who could then maintain a suit for the recovery of payment, in his own name.

(x) The proclamation was dated the 7th of May 1603, and may be seen in Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 379.

(y) The following agreement, between two aldermen of London, which I found in a large collection of original papers, that had come from the Longville library, and which I lately purchased of Mr. Chapman, the bookseller, I submit to the reader; because it shows the true nature of

another example, which proves, with strong conviction, that showing the law, even if it were accurately stated, does not establish *the fact*,

The

real business; because it bears on several topicks of this Inquiry; viz. the contraction of *Anno Dⁿ*.; the pointing://; the *assignment* of Mr. Secretary Cecil's bond, in *satisfaction* of a debt; and because this agreement proves incontrovertibly the positions in the text:—

“Sexto die Novembris *Anno D^m*: 1602.

Articles of agreement made between the right worshipful Sir John Hart and Sir Richard Martin knights and aldermen of London for the true payment of Eight hundred poundes due unto the said Sir John by the said Sir Richard:// in manner following—viz: //

£100—That Sir John Hart shall have the benefit of a certain bond of Mr. Secretary Cecill's of £100 principall debt, which is due to the said Sir Richard, which bond Sir John Hart doth accept for. £100: /

£400—That Sir Richard Martin shall pay or cause to be paid unto the said Sir John Hart the sume of £400 out of certain salt workes belonging unto the said Sir Richard Martin by £200 ~~per~~ A^o—viz. At every six moneths £100 and for the true payment thereof at the said tymes or within xith days after every of the said tymes Sir John Hart is to have good sureties such as hee shall like of

£300—That Sir Richard Martin shall pay or cause to be paid unto Sir John Hart £300 more, by £100 at every six monts end, the first month to begin from
Christmas

The learned coadjutor of the public accuser fails, then, in several points: First, he fails, in arguing against *the fact*: For, various forms of *unsealed bills*, which may be called *notes of hand*, being produced, it was absurd to inquire, whether they existed, at the epochs of their several dates, which go back to the year 1589: Secondly, he fails, in supposing, that proof of the *non-assignment* of notes would prove their *non-existence*: Thirdly, he fails, in producing the law-reports of various suits, that were instituted, for enforcing the pay-

Christmas next, after the date above written, putting in good bonds together with sufficient sureties unto Sir John Hart such as hee shall like of for the due payment thereof accordingly

In consideration whereof Sir John Hart is contented to yeeld up and deliver unto the said Sir Richard Martin or his assigns all such writings and evidences which he hath of the said Sir Richard, at or before the twentieth day of January next ensuing the day above written, so that the said Sir Richard doo performe every of thabove mentioned articles within or upon said twentieth of January otherwise all things are to remayne unto the said Sir John Hart as they do at this present, and these articles to be void to all intents and purposes

In Witnes whereof the said Sir John Hart to these presents hath sett his hand the day and year first above written."

(signed) John Hart:

ment

ment of goldsmiths notes, promissory notes, *unsealed* bills, inland bills, foreign bills; which prove, that such documents did exist, and were assigned: And lastly, he fails, in adducing an argument, which, however learned, is wholly irrelevant to the question, with regard to the existence of such a note as Shakspeare's, during that busy age.

But, this learned person will be, doubtless, more happy in some other of his topicks. "The Chief Justice [Holt], was as firm, " says he, in the conscientious discharge of " his duty *against the law merchant*, as on " another memorable occasion he had been " *against the law of parliament.*" It seemeth to have been the opinion of the Chief Justice, as it is of this learned person, that *the law merchant*, and *the law of parliament*, were not parts, nay are not important branches, of the law of the land. *The Statutum de Stapulis* of (z) Edward 3d, appears to have been forgotten in

(z) 27 Ed. 3. stat. 2. ch. 1. All people of the Staple shall be ruled by *the law merchant*, and not by *the common law*. *The Statutum de Stapulis* formed, then, a kind of mercantile code. By change of circumstances, the whole body of traders of England became *the people of the Staple*, who were entitled, in their commercial transactions, to the protection of that statute,

in Westminster-hall, although it was remembered on 'Change. "The merchants were "foiled in all their attempts," he adds, to obtain justice, according to the nature of their grievances. He immediately assigns the reason: "The circulation of promissory notes "however was not opposed by Westminster-hall alone. Many of the mercantile interest, and even Sir Josiah Child, among "the rest, originally declared against" [the circulation of promissory notes.] I could set against that assertion a chronological series of *Traacts on Trade*, which would demonstrate this self-evident position, that the merchants, who generally understand their own interest, were the greatest promoters of the circulation of every species of mercantile paper: And, the fact is proved, by the practice. Yes; Sir Josiah Child was very zealous against this circulation of notes! For, he has written a whole chapter, to show the vast benefit, which would result to the country, from

statute. But, it was long before the judges could be made sensible of those truths; or that the spirit of trade, and the practice of the people, had produced a kind of revolution in the law, without their perceiving the change, or adverting, that it was their duty to accommodate the proceedings of the courts to the new habits of the people.

the transference of debts (a). Child, and the merchants, were brought upon the stage; in order to exhibit *promissory notes*, as a *new circulation* of recent times. But, the fact "outspeaks the actors." It has been shown, by every mode of proof, that notes of hand did exist, though not in name, during Elizabeth's reign; that debts were *transferred*, though they were not indorsable, in that period; that the investigation of *the law*, were the law clearly settled, cannot over-rule *the fact*, when it is once ascertained.

"But, the great epoch, in the history of paper credit, is the formation of the Bank

(a) Discourse on Trade, 1690, ch. v. p. 106.—Sir Josiah Child, indeed, and every other writer, may be made to assert any thing, by *interpolation*. In the Inquiry, p. 396, Sir Josiah is said to have originally declared against "the innovated practice of bankers; and the new invention of cashiering." Now; the first clause about *bankers* was taken from his Discourse, p. 17, the second clause about *cashiering* was taken from a different paragraph, in p. 18; though both are put together in the Inquiry. Sir Josiah was arguing in 1690, during the pressures of that moment, against the *innovated practice* of taking money from trade to lend to the government, during that distressing war, and the *new invention* of *cashiering*, in buying up discredited public securities. Child was so far from *originally* declaring against the practice of bankers, that he *originally* wrote in favour of bankers. [See his *Brief Observations*, 1668, p. 5.]

"of

“ of England, in 1694,” says this learned person (*b*): And, this is said by him, partly to show the recent establishment of paper credit; but more to ascertain the true birth and parentage of promissory notes. It is certain, however, that paper credit was introduced, and promissory notes originated, upwards of a century, before the great epoch of 1694. Paper credit was completely established, during the civil wars, though it had its origin in an earlier age (*c*). Yet, this learn-

(*b*) Inquiry, 388.

(*c*) *Debentures* were issued, for paying soldiers arrears, in 1648 [Scobel, 1648, ch. 113;] and, these *debentures* were issued, as a state resource, in the subsequent years. These *debentures* were declared, by the ordinance, to be in the nature of bonds, or bills, payable to *assignees*, each *debenture* to be for £.10, or under. [Scobel, 1649, ch. 42.] Here, then, we see paper credit, exchequer bills, or bonds, and bills, payable to *assignees*, in small sums, for the purpose of currency. And, see the ordinance, 1650, ch. 29-49—1652, ch. 6-16. for *public faith paper credit*, which, in fact, began with the war. [Scobel, 1642, ch. 5-6-7.] But, this paper credit may be traced to Elizabeth’s reign, if not to an earlier period. In January 1589, a warrant was issued to Sir Francis Walsingham to make out *privy seals* for a loan. [Burghley’s Diary, in Murden, p. 789.] Sir John Harrington has an epigram, on lending on *privy seals*,” in the time of Elizabeth:—

“ While God preserves the *prince* ne’re be dismay’d,

“ But, if *she* fail, be sure we shall be paid.”

ed person quotes WARBURTON, another learned person, for declaring "paper credit to be an invention, since the time of William the third (*d*).” Happy! might it be, if learned persons would deal a little more in facts, and a little less in assertions. The origin of the *goldsmiths notes* is assigned to the year 1673 (*e*). Yet, these too may be traced back to an earlier æra. They became visible to every eye, about the year 1650, with the *debentures*, and *public faith paper money* of those distracted times (*f*). But, there were goldsmiths, in London, during the reign of James I st, who dealt in gold and silver; who were *cashiers*; and who, consequently, issued notes, as incidental to their trade (*g*). From this historical

(*d*) Inquiry, 400. (*e*) Inquiry, 383-85.

(*f*) John Polexfen, an intelligent member of the first Board of Trade, when treating of this subject, in 1696, says, "there were no footsteps of goldsmiths' notes, passing for money, till since anno 1650." [*Discourse on Trade and Coin*, 1697, p. 64.] And, he adds, "that the passing of paper, in payments, was not much practised till after anno 1660." [Ib. 68.]

(*g*) Vid. *The Declaration to Parliament*, by Thomas Violet of London, goldsmith, 1643, p. 22. Banks, and bankers, became soon familiar to the wits of those times; as we may infer from the commendatory verses, which were prefixed

cal deduction, we now perceive, that those commercial anachronisms were brought from “flasky darkness” into noon day, by those learned persons; in order to suit their several systems; the one, to justify the foolish invective of Pope against paper credit; the other, to prove, from the recent origin of paper credit, and of goldsmiths notes, the modern epoch of notes of hand; as if there were any intimate connection between the one kind of do-

fixed to Beaumont and Fletcher’s plays, 1647; and which George Hills addressed to Fletcher:—

“Monarch of wit! Great *magazine of wealth*;

“From whose *rich banke*, by a Promethean stealth.”

The habits, and language, of merchants, during the preceding age, may be seen in the *Beggar’s Bush* of Beaumont and Fletcher:—

“There was never brought to harbour so rich a bottome,
“but his *bill* would passe unquestioned for her *lading*.”

“Nor lend upon the *asturance* of a *well-penn’d letter*, although a challenge second the denyall.”

“Are you the owners of the ship, that last night put into the harbour?—

“Both of the ship, and lading.—What’s the *fraught*?

“Indigo, quitchineel, choise Chyna stuffs; and cloth of gold

“brought from Camball.—Rich lading; for which I were

“your chapman;—but I am already out of *cash*.—I’ll *give*

“*you day*, for the moiety of all. How long?—Six months.—

“‘Tis a faire offer: which (if we agree about the prizes)

“[prices] I, with thanks, accept of; and will make present

“payment of the rest.”

cument,

document, and the other ; as if the *unsealed* bill, which is the original note of hand, under various forms, but a different name, had not existed, in fact, for ages before paper credit was understood, or goldsmiths notes were circulated. But, prejudice and error are the constant companions of each other. The learned coadjutor emulates the public accuser, in arguing against *the fact*, which cannot be denied ; and in assuming the point, which he undertook to prove :—

“ ————— *That one error*

“ Fills him with faults ; makes him run through all sins.

I might here submit this *Apology* for the *Believers*, to the just consideration of this critical court, who have been as *patient as a gentle stream*, without taking the benefit of a recapitulation. But, the summing up of the evidence to the jury shows the nature of the issue between the parties ; clears away all the rubbish of sophistry from the cause ; and collects all the rays of proof into one *focus* of demonstrative conclusion. The believers were accused of being *the partizans* of a *clumsy and bungling forgery* ; without having *the spirit to defend their belief*, or *the virtue to retract their error*. They now submit such an *Apology*, as could be made in some haste, amid other avocations,

avocations, without much previous store of materials, or any great subsequent study. They have produced a *general argument*, which, they think, cannot be refuted, for proving, that they ought, according to the established rules of logic, to have believed, in the first instance, those *Miscellaneous Papers* to be genuine. By declining to meet this general argument, the public accuser betrays his own consciousness, that it is not to be refuted. But, he attempts to overthrow the primary conviction, which is the result of those general reasonings, by particular investigations. In doing this, he makes *a thousand* objections, successively, to the *Miscellaneous Papers*, both published, and unpublished. His objections have, in their turn, been minutely examined, not by vague declamation, but by opposing fact to fiction, and true logic to delusive sophistry. By these means, have nine hundred and ninety-nine of his objections been found wanting, in the balance of truth. It is, therefore, humbly hoped, that the public accuser *shall take nothing by his motion*, when he prays, that the believers may be adjudged to the critical pillory, for having, on very disputable points, thought differently from him; and because they still think, contrary to his judgment,

ment, that those *Miscellaneous Papers* cannot easily be convicted of spuriousness; and that some of those papers, like the famous position of Berkley, denying the existence of matter, which it is so difficult to confute, by logical reasonings, cannot, by fair argumentation, be shown to be counterfeit, although *self-sufficiency* may *suppose* them to be a *clumsy fraud* (b). But, having undertaken *impossibilities*, the public accuser has failed, egregiously, in proving his point. And, it remains for the wisdom of this court, when it shall consider his erroneous pleading, to admonish the sophist, who, is deluded by self-conceit, how he undertakes, hereafter, by

“Murdering impossibility, to make

“What cannot be, slight work.”

Yet, *grave admonishments* prevail not with him, though they be given by the *sovereign will*. He resolves to make *slight work* with the believers, whom, for their various offences, he divides into several classes, according to their respective degrees of guilt: *The RING-LEADERS*, who “know nothing of the history of Shakspeare, nothing of the history of the stage, or the history of the English language (i):”—*The HARDENED*

(b) Inquiry, 352. (i) Inquiry, 352-363.

OFFENDERS, “ who hastily gave judgment on
 “ a matter which they did not understand ;
 “ who knew nothing of old hand writing, and
 “ nothing of old language (k).” These are
 weighty accusations, no doubt. And, a just
 regard for their own reputations, as antiqua-
 ries, scholars, and heralds, renders it necessary
 for the believers to make some *additional apo-*
logy ; in order to show, that they are not quite
 so ignorant of the history of the stage, of the
 studies of Shakspeare, or of the successive state
 of the English language, as the public accuser
 conceits. They cannot remain silent, with-
 out pleading guilty to the charge, which, as
 it attacks reputation, involves life in the issue.
 Driven thus by necessity, the believers may
 exclaim with Lear :

“ ——— We know not how *conceit* may rob

“ The treasury of life, when life itself

“ Yields to the theft —————.”

— § IX. —

OF THE HISTORY OF THE STAGE.

When we turn our attention to the pastimes
 of our ancestors, who were brave, but illite-
 rate, we perceive, that they delighted more
 in such sports, as resembled the *grappling vi-*

(k) Ib. 364.

gour of war, than the *modest stillness* of peace. *Tournaments* were, in those times, not only the delight of barons, bold; but of ladies, gay (a). In the regulation of *the household* by Henry vii, it is *ordained*, that three dayes after the *coronation*, “the Queene, and all the “ladies in their freshest array, may go to be- “hold the (b) *justes*;” but, not to see the *play*. Even as late as 1515, Henry viii, on May-day, in the morning, with Queen Katherine, and many lords, and ladies, rode *a-maying* from Greenwich to Shooter’s-hill; where they were entertained by Robin Hood, and his men, to their great contentment (c). While the people were yet gross, the sports of the

(a) Warton’s Hist. of Poetry, vol. ii. l. 7.

(b) Household Ordinances pub. by the Ant. Soc. 1790, p. 124.—“Justs, and tournaments, were a court recreation, “in former days, at solemn times, and lasted to the begin- “ning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign. In April 1560, were “great justs at Westminster, and running at the tilt.” [Strype’s Stow, vol. i. p. 300.] This observation might have been extended, perhaps, to the end of that reign: For, I find *a payment*, on the 29th of November 1601, “unto “George Johnson, keeper of *the Spring-garden*, of £.6, for “a scaffold, which he had erected against the park-wall, “in the tilt-yard; and which was taken for the use of the “*Countie Egmond*, to see the tilters.” [Council-reg^r.]

(c) Stow’s Hist. of London, edit. 1754, vol. i. p. 304.

field

field being agreeable to their natures, were more encouraged, from policy, than the effeminate pastimes of "*a city-feast.*"

It was with the revival of learning, during the middle ages, that a new species of entertainment was introduced, which was addressed rather to the intellect, than to the eye. A religious colloquy, which was aptly called a *mystery*, was contrived, without much invention, indeed, and without plan; consisting, often, of the allegorical characters, *Faith, Hope, Charity, Sin, and Death.* The *mysteries* were originally represented in religious houses, in which places only learning was, in those days, cultivated; and whence instruction of every kind was dispersed among a rude people. The ancient mysteries were introduced upon the same principle, which has often been adduced in defence of the modern drama, that they *instructed, by pleasing, and pleased, by instructing.* While few could read; and at a time when few were allowed to peruse *the Scriptures*, religious truths of the greatest importance were, in this manner, pleasantly conveyed to illiterate minds. Thus, too, was the rudeness of their manners gradually changed into the softer modes of polished life: And, at length, the *mysteries* ob-

tained a conquest over the *tournament*, which was less relished, as manners were more refined, and were less frequented, as the mind was elevated to a greater desire of gentle peace.

But, the invention of printing, and the introduction of learning, made *the mysteries* of ruder times, less necessary; when a new age was induced by more knowledge, and civility, to practise new customs. Henry the viiith tried to abolish *the mysteries* by act of (d) parliament; and the Puritans with a wilder spirit, but more effectual success, exploded the religious dramas, as sinful, and sacrilegious; though they had been authorised by popes, for the propagation of the gospel, and encouraged by bishops, for the polish of manners.

As the people advanced from rudeness to refinement, the *mysteries* were succeeded by *the moralities*. Simplicity now gave way a little to art. Characters began to be delineated, by the introduction of historical personages, in the room of allegorical beings; and plot to be attempted, by the unravelment of some fable, for the inculcation of some moral. The reign of Edward the 4th is supposed to

(d) 34-5 Hen. 8. ch. 1.

be the epoch of *moralities*. The reign of Henry the 7th was the period of the greatest prevalence of those *moralities*: But, they were not often acted, during Elizabeth's reign of gradual improvement.

The *moralities* gave place, in their turn, to *the (e) INTERLUDE*; *something played*, says Johnson, at the *intervals of festivity*, a farce, or drama, of the lowest order. It seems certain, then, that in every period of our annals, we had players of some species, for the benefit of instruction, and the purpose of amusement. Henry the viith, "the *qwene*, and my ladye "the Kyng's moder," amused themselves with a play at Candlemas (*f*). Henry the viiith was, probably, the first of our kings, who formed an establishment of players, for the amusement of his many *qwenes*; but, he was the first, who introduced *a master of the revels*,

(*e*) Henry 8th placed on his household establishment *eight players of interludes*, at £. 3. 6. 8. each, yearly. This number, and salary, continued to the reign of James 1st. The eight players could only present a drama of a very simple, and imperfect, form.

(*f*) Steevens's Shak. vol. i. p. 151-2. Hen. 7th, who was not apt to put his hand in his pocket, gave, as charity to the *players*, that begged by the way, 6 shs. 8ds. There were, in his reign, not only *players*, in London, but, *Frensh players*.

for promoting mirth, and at the same time preserving order.

But, *abuse*, and *the use*, are the necessary concomitants of each other. Even the *Reformation*, a necessary good, brought with it religious contest, its concomitant evil. The poets, and the players, who were to live by pleasing, presented to the people such *dramas*, as pleased, rather than instructed; offered to a coarse populace what was profitable, rather than what was fit.

“ Next, *Comedy* appear'd, with great applause,

“ Till her licentious and abusive tongue,

“ Weaken'd the magistrate's coercive power.”

Such a government, indeed, as Henry the viiith bequeathed to his infant son, necessarily produced every kind of grievance. One of the first complaints of Edward Vith's reign. was the seditiousness of the “ common players of interludes and playes, as well within the city of London, as else where.” On the 6th of August 1547, there issued “ *A proclamation for the inhibition of players* (g).”

And,

(g) I here print this *document*, which has been mistated, and misrepresented, from the collection “ Of suche proclamacions, as have been sette furthe by the Kynge's Majestie,” and imprinted by Richard Grafton, in 1550:—

“ Forasmuche, as a greate nōber of those, that be com-

“ mon

And, *the maker* was, in that reign, sent to the Tower, for the writing of plays; the offence being

“ mon plaiers of enterludes and plaies, as well within the
 “ citie of London, as els where, within the realme, do for
 “ the moste part plaie suche interludes, as contain matter,
 “ tending to sedicion, and contempnyng of sundery good
 “ orders & lawes, whereupon are growen, and daily are
 “ like to growe, and ensue muche disquiet, diuision, tumultes
 “ & uprores in this realme the Kynges Majestie, by the ad-
 “ vise and consent of his dereft uncle, Edward duke of So-
 “ merfet, gouernour of his persone, and protector of his
 “ realmes dominions and subiectes, and the rest of his high-
 “ nes priuie counsell, straightly chargeth and commaundeth,
 “ al and euery his majesties subiectes, of whatsoever state,
 “ order, or degree thei bee, that frō the ix daie of this pre-
 “ sent moneth of August, untill the feast of all Sainctes nexte
 “ comyng, thei ne any of them, openly or secretly, plaie in
 “ the English tongue, any kinde of interlude, plaie, dia-
 “ logue, or other matter fet furthe in forme of plaie, in any
 “ place, publique or priuate, within this realme upō pain
 “ that whosoever shall plaie in Englishe any suche play, in-
 “ terlude, dialogue, or other matter, shall suffre imprison-
 “ ment, & further punishmet, at the pleasure of his majestie.
 “ For the better execution whereof, his majestie, by the said
 “ aduise and consent, straightly chargeth and commaundeth,
 “ all and singuler maiors, sherifes, bailifes, constables, hed-
 “ borowes, tithyng men, justices of peace, and al other his
 “ majesties hed officers in al y^e partes throughout the realme,
 “ to geve order and speciall heede, that this proclamacion
 “ be in all behalves, well and truely kept and obserued, as
 “ thei and every of them, tēder his highnes pleasure, and
 “ will auoyde his indignacion.”

The

being probably aggravated by disobedience to some injunction (*b*). The jealousy, and strictness, of that period, would only permit the players of the highest noblemen to play, within their own houses (*i*). The court of
Edward

The proclamation being but temporary, did not take down, but only clear the stage, for a time, says Fuller; reformed enterludes (as they term them) being afterward permitted: Yea, in the first of Queen Elizabeth, scripture-plaies were acted even in the church it self, which, in my opinion, the more pious, the more profane, stooping faith to fancy, and abating the majestie of God's word. Such *pageants* might *inform*, not *edifie*, though indulged the ignorance of that age: For, though children may be *played* into *learning*, all must be wrought into *religion*, by *ordinances* of divine *institutions*, and the *means* ought to be as *serious*, as the *end* is *secret*. [Church Hist. Cent. xvi. p. 392.] It appears, says Mr. Malone, "from the proclamation [of Edward the sixth] that the favourers of Popery about that time had levelled several dramattick invectives against Archbishop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the Reformers." [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 25.] Yet, we see, that the proclamation does not bear him out in his assertion, which was probably made, like some other of his assertions, without seeing the document.

(*b*) In the council-register, appears the following order:—"At Greenwich, 10th June 1552, It was this day ordered, That the Lord Treasurer should send for the poet, which is in the Tower *for making plays*, and to deliver him."

(*i*) A letter was written from the privy council, on the 21st June 1551, to the Marquis of Dorset; "signifying
"license

Edward had, however, a few joyous moments. Military *triumphs* were exhibited “at Shrove-tide, and at Twelftide (*k*):” At the festivals of Christmas, and Candlemas, *A lord of the pastimes was appointed, and playes were acted*: and for the greater *joyousance*, poets of the greatest talents were sought, to promote festivity. George Ferrers, a person of superior rank, who was educated at Oxford, and entered at Lincoln’s-inn; and who was a gentleman belonging to the Protector Somerset, was employed, as the lord of the pastimes (*l*). William Baldwyn, who was a graduate of Oxford, and another of the celebrated authors of the *Myrrour for Magistrates*, was appointed to *set*

“license to be granted, for to have his players, play only in
“his lordship’s presence.” [Council-regr.]

(*k*) On the 12th Janry. 1547, a warrant was issued for £. 60. 8 s. 10 d. to Sir Thomas Darcy, for pikes, lances, and other necessaries, for the *Triumph*, at Shrove-tide; and for weapons at Twelf-tide. [Council-regr.]

(*l*) A warrant was issued, on the 30th November 1552, to pay George *Ferrys*, being appointed to be Lord of the Pastimes, in the King’s Majesties house, this Christmas £. 100, towards the necessary charges. [Council-regr.] Stow says, that he so pleasantly behaved himself, the King had great delight in his pastimes. George Ferrers, who, we see, was called *Ferrys*, died in 1579. There is an accurate account of him in Warton’s Hist. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 213.

forth

forth a play (m). Edward had a regular establishment of *players of interludes*; and of (n) *mynstrels*, and *singing men*, who sung in the King's presence (o). But, the festivities of Edward's days were soon clouded over by the reign of blood, which succeeded his premature demise.

The gloom, which hung over the court of Mary, did not spread far beyond the influence of her presence. In London, and in Canterbury, in Essex, and in Yorkshire, plays continued to be acted, because they were agreeable to the country, however displeasing to the court, which, in its own darkness, saw danger from merriment, and, from its own weakness, perceived sedition, in the hilarity of

(m) A letter was written, on the 28th Jañry 1553, to Sir Thomas Cawerden, the master of the revels, to furnish William Baldwin, who was appointed to set forth a play, before the King, upon Candlemas-day, at night, with all necessaries.

(n) In 1547, the establishment consisted of Hugh Woudehous, marshal, of John Abbes, Robert Stouchy, Hugh Grene, and Robert Norman, mynstrels, whose wages amounted to each fifty marks a year. [Council-register.]

(o) A warrant was issued on the 14 June 1548, to pay Richard Atkinson, in recompence of forty marks yearly, that he had of the King's Majestie for singing before him. [Council-register.]

the

the drama. Special orders were, accordingly, issued to prevent the acting of plays in particular places (*p*). When these failed of effect, a general order was issued from the star-chamber, in Easter term 1557; requiring the justices of the peace, in every shire, to suffer no players, whatsoever the matter were, to play, within their several jurisdictions. But, these injunctions, as they were displeasing to the people, were not every where enforced; and the strolling players found means to save themselves from the penalties, which the law inflicted on vagabonds (*q*). The magistrates of

(*p*) The privy-council wrote to Lord Rich, on the 14th of February 155 $\frac{1}{2}$ “ that where [as] there is a stage play appointed to be played this Shrovetide at Hatfield-Bra-
dock, in Essex, his Lordship is willed to stay the same,
and to examine, who should be the players, what the effect of the play is, with such other circumstances as he shall think meet, and to signify the same hither.” Inquiry soon found, however, that neither the play, nor the players, were very dangerous. And, on the 19th of the same month a letter of thanks was written by the privy-council “ to the Lord Rich for his travel in staying the stage play; and requiring him for that he knoweth the players to be honest householders and quiet persons, to set them again at liberty, and to have special care to stop the like occasions of assembling the people hereafter.”

(*q*) See the letter from the privy-council to the president of the north, dated the 30th April 1556, in Strype's Mem. vol.

of Canterbury were remarkably active in obeying those orders; in committing the players, and seizing their lewd play-book (*r*). But, the

vol. iii. appx. 185; and Lodge's Illust. vol. i. p. 212. In the subsequent year, the orders, which were sent into the north, were issued to every other shire. A letter of thanks was written by the privy-council, on the 11th of July 1557, to the Lord Rich, touching the players; and signifying to his Lordship "that order was given in the star-chamber
 " openly to the justices of the peace of every shire, this last
 " term, that they should suffer no players, whatsoever the
 " matter was, to play, especially this summer, which order
 " his Lordship is willed to observe, and to cause them that
 " shall enterprize the contrary to be punished."—A similar letter was written, on the same day, to the justices of the peace for the county of Essex; "signifying, that as they
 " were admonished this last term in the star-chamber, it is
 " thought strange, that they have not accordingly accom-
 " plished the same." [Council-register.]

(*r*) The privy-council, on the 27th of June 1557, wrote a letter to "John Fuller, the Mayor of Canterbury, of thanks
 " for his diligence, in the apprehending and committing of
 " the players to ward, whom he is willed to keep so, until
 " he shall receive further orders from hence. And in the
 " mean [time] their lewd play-book is committed to the
 " consideration of the King's and Queen's Majesty's learned
 " council, who are willed to declare what the same waieth
 " unto in the law; whereupon he shall receive further order
 " from hence, touching the said players." On the 11th of August 1557, another letter was sent "to the mayor and
 " aldermen of Canterbury, with the lewd play-book, sent
 " hither by them, and the examinations also of the players
 " thereof,

the mayor of London seems not, like his brother of Canterbury, to have merited, on that occasion, the thanks of the privy-council, for his zeal against plays (*s*). On the 5th of September

“ thereof, which they are willed to consider, and to follow
 “ the order hereof signified unto them, which was, that upon
 “ understanding what the law was, touching the said lewd
 “ play, they should thereupon proceed against the players
 “ forthwith, according to the same, and the qualities of
 “ their offences; which order, they are willed to follow,
 “ without delay.” [Council-register of those dates.]

(*s*) A letter was written by the privy-council, on the 4th June 1557, to the Lord-mayor of London, “ That where [as]
 “ there were yesterday certain *naughty plays* played in Lon-
 “ don (as the Lords here are informed) He is willed both
 “ to make search for the said players; and having found
 “ them, to send them to the commissioners for religion, to
 “ be by them further ordered. And also to take order, that
 “ no play be made henceforth within the city, except the
 “ same be first seen and allowed and the players authorised.”
 —On the 5th of September 1557, the privy-council wrote
 a letter to the Lord-mayor of London.—“ To give order
 “ forthwith, that some of his officers do forthwith repair to
 “ *the Bears-head*, without Aldgate, where, the Lords are in-
 “ formed a lewd play, called a *Sack full of News*, shall be
 “ played this day; The players thereof, he is willed, to ap-
 “ prehend, and to commit to ward, until he shall hear fur-
 “ ther from hence; and to take their play-book from them,
 “ and to send the same hither.” The Lord-mayor ap-
 pears, to have punctually obeyed. And, on the morrow, the
 privy-council wrote another letter to the same magistrate;
 “ willing

September 1557, he was ordered to cause his officers forthwith to repair to the *Boars-head*, without Aldgate, and to apprehend the players, who were then, and there, to represent a lewd play, called *A Sack full of News*; which was thereupon so compleatly suppressed, as to prevent its subsequent publication. The representation of this *lewd play* induced the privy-council to direct the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be played, within London, but *such as were seen and allowed by the Ordinary*. In the mean time, the Queen continued the household establishment, which her father had made, for eight players of interludes. The great poet of her reign was John Heywood, the epigrammatist, who fled from the face of Elizabeth, at the revival of the reformation, which immediately succeeded her accession. If any drama were printed, during the reign of Mary, it has escaped the eyes of the most diligent collectors.

“ willing him to set at liberty the players, by him apprehended, by order from hence yesterday, and to give them and all other players throughout the city, in commandment and charge, not to play any plays, but between the feasts of All-saints and Shrovetide, and then only, such as are seen and allowed by the Ordinary.” [Council-register of those dates.]

The

The sun of Elizabeth rose, in November 1558, and went not down, until March 1603. This reign, as it thus appears to have been long in its duration, and is celebrated for the wisdom of its measures, enabled learning, by its kindly influences, to make a vast progress; and assisted the stage, by its salutary regulations, to form a useful establishment. What Augustus said of Rome, may be remarked of Elizabeth, and the stage, that she found it *brick*, and left it *marble*. The persecutions of preceding governments had, indeed, left her without a theatre, without dramas, and without players (*t*). These positions appear, from what has been already said; and are confirmed by *A Breif Estimât*, which I discovered in the paper-office; and which, being very interesting in its matter, and cu-

(*t*) From a document, in the paper-office, it appears, that Queen Elizabeth had such an establishment of musicians, and players, as her father had made:—

MUSICIANS; as Trumpeters, Luters, Harpers,	
Singers, Rebecks, Vialls, Sagbutts,	
Bagpipes, Mynstrels, Domestlads,	
Flutes, Players on Instruments,	
Makers of Instruments; Salarys	
yearly - - - - -	£200 — —
PLAYERS of INTERLUDES - - - - -	21 13 4
	<hr/>

rious in its manner, is subjoined in the marginal note below (*u*).

Such

(*u*) “ A Brief Estimāt off all the cārges against Crīst-
 “ mas and Candellmas ffor iij Plays at Wyndfor wth. thare
 “ necessaries and provicions ffor the Carages and Recarages
 “ of the same stuff and all ordinarie charges and allfoo
 “ for the conveyinge of the stuff in to the cleane ayre and
 “ save kepinge of the same in Anno Sexto Elizabeth. And
 “ allfoo in the same yeare the ixth. of June Repayringe and
 “ new makinge of thre Maskes with thare hole furniture
 “ and Div^s devisses and a Castle ffor ladies and a harbour
 “ ffor Lords and thre Harrolds and iij Trompetours too
 “ bringe in the Devise with the Men of Armes and showen
 “ at the Courtte of Richmond before the Quēns Matie.
 “ and the French Embassitours &c. And div^s [divers] Eyr-
 “ rings Repayringe and Translatinge of sunderie garments
 “ ffor playes att Crīstmas and Shroftid in Anno Septimo
 “ Elizabeth and many thinges mōōnd [commissioned] and
 “ furneshed w^{ch}. ware nōt fene and much stuff bought &c.

1563—Crīstmas wages or dieats of the Of-
 ficers & Tayllors Paynters Silkwemen
 mēers [merciers] Lynen Drappers
 ppertie makers and other necessaries
 & provicions occupied and bought
 ffor the same - - - - - £ 39 11 4

1563—Candellmas ffollowinge wages or dieats
 of the officers and Tayllors. Silkwemen
 mēers [merciers] Skynars and
 ppertie makers and other necessaries
 and provicions - - - - - 10 6 5

1564—Eyrtinge [airing] and Repayringe in
 Aprill ffollowinge wages or dieats of

the

Such was the state of the drama, when Shakspeare was born. We shall perceive that, before he came out upon the stage, great improvements had been made in the plays;

the officers and Tayllors p̄visions and necessaries & other ordinarie charges £ 8 5 6

1564—The IXth. of June Translatting new
At Richmo^t makinge of thre maskes and other
Mons Goni Devisses against the French Em-
bassitours cominge to Richmond
wages or dieats of the officers and
Tayllors payntars workinge uppon
the Castle and other devisses & m̄cers
[mercens] ffor sarsnet and other stuff
and Lynen Drappars ffor canvas to
cov- [cover] y^t withal and Silkwemen
for ffrenge and tassalles to garnesh the
old garments to make them seme
fresh agayne and other p̄visions &
necessaries - - - - - 87 9 6

1564—Erryng[e] [airing] Repayring[e] in Agust
followinge wages or dieats of the
officers & Tayllo^{rs}. Silkwemen for
ffrenge & tassells and other necessaries II 18 4

1564—Erryng[e] [airing] in September follow-
ing[e] wages or dieats of the Officers
and Tayllo^{rs}. & other p̄visions and
necessaries - - - - - 8 6 8

1564—Cristmas Anno Septimo Elizabeth
Edwd Hayedy wages or dieats of the Officers
and Tayllo^{rs}. payntars workinge
div^s [divers] Cities and Towns

plays; in the actors; and in the theatre; but that much was still wanting to reduce dramatic representations into the most perfect form.

When

Carvers Silkewemen for frence & tassells m̄ers [mercens] ffor Sarfnett and other Stuff and Lynen Drappars for canvas to cov̄ [cover] div̄ [divers] townes and howsses and other Deviffes and Clowds for a Maske and a Showe and a playe by the Childerne of the Chaple ffor Rugge bumbayst an cottone ffor hosse and other p̄visions and necessaries - - - - - £ 87 7 8

Erryng [airing] in Ienevery ffor cayrtene playes by the gramar skolle of Westmynste^r and the Childerne of Powles wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllo^{rs}. Mercers and other p̄visions - - - - - 8 6 8

1564—The 18th of Februerie wages or dieats

Sir Percivall Hart's Sons

of the Officers and Taylors paynttars workinge

uppon div̄ [divers] Cities and Towns and the Emperours Pallace & other Deviffes carvars m̄ers for sarfnett and other stuff & Lynen Drappars for canvas to cov̄ [cover] the Towns with all and other p̄visions for a playe maid by Sir Percival Hartts Sones w^t. a maske of huntars and div̄ [divers] deviffes and a Rocke or hill ffor the 9

Muffes

When we throw our eyes upon the scenic pastimes of those days, we see that Queen Elizabeth was chiefly entertained by children; by the children of Paul's; by the children of

Musses to singe uppon wth. a vayne of farnett drawn upp and downe before them &c. - - - - - £ 57 10 -

1564—Shroftid followinge wages or dieats of Gentillmen of the Innes of Court Diana Pallas the Officers and Tayllors payntars workinge uppon the Townes and Charretts for the Goodesses and div^{rs}. devisses as the Hevens and Clowds and foure masks too of them not occupied nor sene wth. thare hole furniture wth. be verie fayr and Riche off old stuff butt new garnished wth. frence and tassells to seme new and div^{rs}. shoves made by the Gentillmen of Greys line m̄cers [merciers] for farnett and other stuff Silkewemen for frence and tasselles Lynen Drappers for canvas ppertie makers and other p^{ro}visions and necessaries - - - 115 - 7

Eyrringe [airing] Repayringe in Aprill followinge and Translatinge of div^{rs}. garments wth. thare p^{ro}visions and necessaries for the same - - - - - 10 8 3
444 10 11

It is to be remembered, that the marginal notes are in Lord Burleigh's hand; and that the *Roman* numerals of the original document are converted into *Arabick* numerals, for convenience.

A a 3 : Westminster ;

Westminster; by the children of the chapel; and by the children of Windsor. The truth is, that our drama first took its rise in the schools; which were settled in the monasteries, or were established in the Universities (v). The sock, and the buskin, passed, by an easy transition, from the schoolboys to the singing boys. As early as the year 1430, the choristers, or eleemosinary boys of Maxtoke-priory, near Coventry, acted a play every year (w). Henry the viith was entertained, in a similar manner, by the choristers of Winchester, in 1487 (x). Henry the viiith, Edward the (y) viith, and Mary, were, in their turns, dramatically amused by singing boys. As early as the year 1378, the choristers of St. Paul's cathedral, in London, petitioned Richard the iid, that he would prohibit ignorant persons from acting *The history of the Old Testament*, which the clergy of that church had prepared, at a great expence, for public representation, during the ensuing Christmas. From acting *mysteries*, these choristers passed, by a gradual progress, to the performance of more regular dramas (z). They became so famous for the superiority of their scenic skill, that they were

(v) Warton's Hist. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 388-9.

(w) Ib. 390. (x) Ib. vol. i. p. 206.

(y) Ib. vol. ii. p. 391. (z) Id.

sent for, whenever great entertainments were given in the country; in order to contribute, by their mimick art, diversion to *the Briton reveller* (a).

The children of St. Paul's were the favourite actors, at the accession of Elizabeth: And, in consequence of their celebrity, and success, they at length found imitators, and rivals, in the children of Westminster, in the children of the (b) Chapel, and in the children of Windsor; who all continued to entertain Elizabeth, while she lived; though much seldomer towards the conclusion of her reign, as the established actors, necessarily, gained a superiority over them in the art, and its accommodations (c).

Whether

(a) Warton's Hist. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 391.

(b) In June 1552, Richard Bower, the master of the King's children of the chapel, was authorized to take up, as many children, as he might think fit, to serve there from time to time. [Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 539.] Richard Bower, who had been master of the children of the chapel, under Henry the sixth, and Edward the sixth, was continued in that office, on the 30 Apr. 1559, with a salary of £.40. a year. [Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 517.] Commissions issued in the 4th, 9th, and 39th of Elizabeth "to take up well singing boys, for furnishing the Queen's chapel." [Lyson's Environs, vol. i. p. 92.]

(c) I here subjoin a chronological list of the several pay-

Whether those choristers were always *children* may admit of some doubt. The word *child* had

ments to *those* CHILDREN, as the rewards of their performances, which were gleaned from the council-registers:—

10th Jañry 156 $\frac{2}{3}$	—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master of the children of Pauls	£6 13 4
18th Jañry 156 $\frac{4}{5}$	—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master of the children of Pauls, for a play on Christmas last	6 13 4
12th Jañry 156 $\frac{6}{7}$	—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master of the children of Pauls, for two plays on Christmas last	13 6 8
13th Febr̄y 156 $\frac{6}{7}$	—Paid John Taylor, master of the children of Westminster, for a play on Shrovetide last	6 13 4
12th Jañry 157 $\frac{2}{3}$	—Paid Richard Ferraunt, master of the children of Windfor, for a play on St. John's day last	6 13 4
Do.	—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master of the children of Pauls, for a play on New year's day last	6 13 4
Do.	—Paid John Honnys, Gent. master of the children of the chapel, for a play on Twelfth day last	6 13 4
29th Febr̄y 157 $\frac{2}{3}$	—Paid the master of the children of Westminster, for a play on Shrove-tuesday last	6 13 4
10th Jañry 157 $\frac{3}{4}$	—Paid Sebastian Westcott, for a play at Christmas last	6 13 4

10th

had formerly a very different signification, than it has lately had; as we may learn from our *old English*

10th Jañry 157 $\frac{1}{4}$	—Paid Richard Ferraunt, for a play at Christmas last	-	£.6	13	4
29th Dec ^r . 1575	—Paid the master of the children of Windsor, for a play on St. John's day last	-	10	—	—
7th Jañry 157 $\frac{5}{8}$	—Paid Sebastian [Westcott] master of the children of Pauls, for a play at Twelfth day last	-	-	10	—
20th D ^o 157 $\frac{6}{7}$	—Paid the children of the chapel, for a play in Christmas holydays last	-	-	6	13 4
D ^o	—Paid the children of Pauls for a play in Christmas holydays last	-	-	6	13 4
	And by way of reward		£.2	10.	to each of them
			5	—	—
20th Febr'y 157 $\frac{6}{7}$	—Paid the master of the children of Pauls	-	-	6	13 4
	And by way of reward		5	marks.	
16th Jañry 157 $\frac{8}{9}$	—Paid the children of Pauls	}			
	—Paid the children of the chapel				
	Warrants issued, but no fums mentioned.				
12th March 157 $\frac{3}{8}$	—Paid Richard Ferraunt, master of the children of Windsor, for a play on Shrove Monday last	-	-	6	13 4
	And by way of reward	-	-	3	6 8
25th Jañry 157 $\frac{2}{8}$	—Paid the master and children of the chapel	-	-	6	13 4
	And				

English ballads; in the same manner, as the word *bairn*, in the Scottish poets, and in Shakspeare's

	And by way of reward -	£. 3 6 8
25th Jañry 157 $\frac{9}{8}$	—Paid the master and children of Pauls - - -	10 — —
30th Jañry 158 $\frac{2}{4}$	—Paid the master of the children of Pauls, for a play on Twelfth day - - -	10 — —
13th Febry 1580-1	—Paid the master of the children of the chapel, for a play on Shrove Sunday last - -	6 13 4
	And by way of reward -	3 6 8
1st April 1582	—Paid the master of the children of the chapel, for two plays on the last of December and Shrove-tuesday -	20 marks.
	And by way of reward -	20 nobles.
24th April 1582	—Paid the children of Pauls, for a play on St. Stephen's day last - - -	£. 10 — —
9th April 1588	—Paid Thomas Giles, master of the children of Pauls, for a play on Shrove Sunday -	10 — —
23d March 158 $\frac{3}{5}$	—Paid Thomas Giles, master of the children of Pauls, for sundry plays in the Christmas holidays - - -	30 — —
10th March 158 $\frac{9}{6}$	—Paid the master of the children of Pauls for three plays on Sunday after Christmas day, Newyears day, and Twelfth day - - -	20 — —
	And by way of reward -	10 — —

spere's dramas, denotes a *youth*, as well as a child; and as the word child signified a *youth*, and a youth of a higher rank; so *child* and *knight*, and *bairn* and *knight*, came to be synonymous; as we may perceive in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*: Hence, the *children* of the chapel, and the *youths* of the chapel, were, really, the same, though, nominally, different. From those seminaries, some of the ablest actors were transplanted into the regular companies (*d*). Contributing so much to festivity, by their acting, they, in some measure, communicated their denomination of *children* to the professed actors, by the name of *the children of the REVELS*. By the celebrity of

24th June 1601 — Paid Edward Piers, master of
the children of Pauls, for a
play on Newyears day last 20 marks.
And by way of reward - - 5 marks.

(*d*) The theatrical children were sometimes *kidnapped*, by rival masters, no doubt. One of the boys of Sebastian Westcott was, in this manner, carried away from him: And, on the 3d of December, 1575, the privy council wrote "A letter to the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Doctor Wilson; that whereas one of Sebastian's boys, being one of his principall players, is lately stolen, and conveyed, from him; they be required to examine such persons as Sebastian holdeth suspected, and to proceed with such as be found faulty according to law and the order of this realm."

their

their performances, they even *envenomed* the established comedians with *rival-bating* envy, as we may learn from Shakspeare. During Elizabeth's reign, there had been four companies of children, who, under distinct masters, gave life to the revelry of that extended period. They continued, after the accession of King James, to exhilarate the *faint slumbers* of his peaceful reign. And, they were deemed so important, that there sometimes were granted royal patents to particular persons; empowering them, "to bring up companies of children, and youths, in the quality of playing interludes, and stage plays (e)."

Thus

(e) The company, consisting of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robins, who acted at *The Red Bull*, and had been the servants of Queen Anne, seem to have appropriated to themselves the name of *The Company of the Revels*. They obtained, in July 1622, a patent, under the privy seal; authorizing them "to bring up children in the qualitie and exercise, of playing comedies and stage plays, to be called by the name of *The Children of the Revels*." [Steeven's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 171.] Similar patents had been conferred in former years. Such a patent was granted under the great seal, on the 17th of July 1615, to John Daniel, gentleman, one of the prince's servants. This authority was *oppugned* and *resisted*, it seems; and thereupon was issued, in April 1618 the following *Letter of Assistance*, which

Thus have I tried to shed a few rays of brighter light on this curious subject, which had

which was transcribed from a copy in the paper-office; and casts some new lights on the history of the stage:—

“ After our hearty commendations: Whereas it pleased
 “ his Majesty by his letters patents, under the great seal of
 “ England, bearing date the 17th day of July, in the 13th
 “ year of his Highness’s reign [1615] to grant unto John
 “ Daniel, gent: (the prince his servant) authority to bring
 “ up a company of children and youths in the quality of play-
 “ ing interludes and stage plays. And wee are informed
 “ that notwithstanding his Majesty’s pleasure therein that
 “ there are some who oppugne and resist the said authority in
 “ contempt of his Majesty’s letters patents. In consideration
 “ whereof and for the further effecting and performance of
 “ his Majesty’s pleasure therein; wee have thought good to
 “ grant unto the said John Daniel these our Letters of As-
 “ sistance, thereby requiring you, and in his Majesty’s name
 “ straightly charging and commanding you and every of
 “ you, not only quietly to permit and suffer Martin Slatier,
 “ John Edmonds, and Nathaniel Clay (her Majesties ser-
 “ vants) with their associates, the bearers hereof, to play as
 “ aforesaid (*as her Majesty’s servants of her royal chamber at*
 “ *Bristol*) in all playhouses, town-halls, school-houses, and
 “ other places, convenient for that purpose, in all cities,
 “ universities, towns, and boroughs, within his Majesty’s
 “ realms and dominions, freely, and peaceably, without any
 “ of your lets, troubles, or molestations: But as occasion
 “ shall be offered (they or any of them having to show his
 “ letters patents and a letter of assistance from the said John
 “ Daniel) to be likewise aiding and assisting unto them, they
 “ behaving themselves civilly and orderly, like good and
 “ honest subjects, and doing nothing therein contrary to the
 “ tenor

had been thrown too much into shade, by the pencils of our scenic painters. Yet, have I perhaps raised, rather than gratified curiosity. And those, who find a pleasure, in reviewing the amusements of former times, may wish for more gratification, from additional notices. It was with design to gratify this reasonable desire, that I compiled a CHRONOLOGICAL LIST of such plays, as were acted by those companies of *theatrical children*, which is subjoined in the note (f). The *chronology* was adjusted

“ tenor of his Majesty’s said letters patents, nor staying to
 “ play in any one place above fourteen days together, and
 “ the times of divine service on the sabbath days only ex-
 “ cepted. Whereof fail you not at your perils :— Given at
 “ the court at Whitehall this [April 1618.]”

To all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and
 other his Majesty’s officers and liege subjects to
 whom it may belong, or in any wise appertain. }

(f) A *chronological list* of the various plays, which were presented by *the theatrical children* :—

1571—Edward’s *Damon and Pethias*; a comedy, before the Queen, by the children of her chapel.

1584—Peel’s *Arrayment of Paris*; before the Queen, by the children of the chapel.

1584—Lyly’s *Alexander Campaspe* and *Diogenes*; before the Queen, on Twelfth day at night, by her Majesty’s children, and the children of Paul’s.

1591—Lyly’s *Endimion*, and *the Man in the Moon*; before the
 the

justed from the several dates of the successive publications; whence may be conjectured, rather

the Queen, at Greenwich, on Candlemas day, at night, by the children of Paul's.

1591—Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* [Phaon]; before the Queen, on Shrove Tuesday, by her Majesty's children, and the boys of Paul's.

1592—Lyly's *Gallathea*; before the Queen, at Greenwich, on Newyear's day at night, by the children of Paul's.

1594—Lyly's *Mother Bombie*, sundry times, by the children of Paul's.

1594—Nash's *Dido Queen of Carthage*; by the children of her Majesty's chapel.

1600—Lyly's *The Maids Metamorphosis*, by the children of Paul's.

1600—Ben Johnson's *Cynthia's Revels*, or *The Fountain of Self Love*, by the children of the Queen's chapel.

1600—*The Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll*; by the children of Powle's.

1601—Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*; first played by the children of Paul's; now by the children of the chapel.

1601—Ben Johnson's *Poetaster*; by the children of the Queen's chapel.

1601—*Jack Drum's Entertainment*, or *Pasquil and Katherine*, by the children of Powle's.

1602—Dekker's *Satiromastix*; or *The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*; publickly acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants; and privately, by the children of Paul's.

1602—Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*; by the children of Paul's.

1602—Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, by the children of Paul's.

rather than ascertained, when each play was acted. Amid other novelties, it is curious to

1605—Chapman's *Eastward Hoe*; at Blackfriars, by the children of her Majesty's Revels.

1605—Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*, at Blackfriars, by the children of the Revels.

1606—Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, by the children of Blackfriars.

1606—Marston's *Parifitaster*, or *The Fawne*, at Blackfriars, by the children of the Revels.

1606—Day's *Ile of Galls*; at Blackfriars, by the children of the Revels.

1606—Sir Gyles Gooscappe Knight; by the children of the chapel.

1607—*The Puritan*, or *The Widow of Watling Street*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Dekker's *Westward Hoe*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Dekker's *Northward Hoe*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Middleton's *Phœnix*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—*Cupid's Whirligig*; by the children of the Revels.

1608—Middleton's *Family of Love*; by the children of his Majesty's Revels.

1608—Middleton's *Mad World my Masters*; by the children of Paul's.

1608—Day's *Humour out of Breath*; by the children of the King's Revels.

1608—Day's *Law Tricks*, or *Who would have Thought*; by the children of the Revels.

to remark, that none of the many plays, which were presented by the children of Paul's, and the children of the Chapel, before the year 1571, have been preserved, at least been published; and none of the plays are said to have been acted by *the children of the revels*, subsequent to the year 1633. An attention to this date would carry the inquirer into *the gloom of puritanism*: And, from authority, he would be told:

“ You cannot *revel* into *dukedom*s there.”

1608—Machin's *Dumbe Knight*; by the children of the Revels.

1609—Armin's *History of the Two Maids of More-clacke* [Mortlake]; by the children of the King's Revels.

1610—Mafon's *Turk*; by the children of the Revels.

1610—Sharpham's *Fleire*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.

1611—Barry's *Ram Alley*, or *Merrie Tricks*; by the children of the King's Revels.

1612—Field's *Woman is a Weathercock*; before the King, at Whitehall, and at Whitefryers, by the children of her Majesty's Revels.

1615—Beaumont's *Cupid's Revenge*; by the children of the Revels.

1620—May's *Heire*, by the *company* of the Revels.

1622—Markham's and Sampson's *True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater*; acted at the Red Bull, by the *company* of the Revels.

1633—Rowley's *Match at Midnight*; by the children of the Revels.

Thus much, then, for the children of St. Paul's, of Westminster, of Windsor, of the Chapel, and of the *Children of the Revels*. As early as the reign of Henry the VIIth, French players appeared in London, though not as an established company; for we see nothing of them, in the subsequent reigns. The Italian language became as much the object of cultivation, during Elizabeth's reign, as the French had ever been, or is at present. And, Italians showed their tricks, daily, in our streets, and exhibited their dramas, often, in our halls (g): In January 1577⁷/₈ Droufiano, an Italian *commediante*, and his company, were authorized by the privy council, to play within the jurisdiction of the city of London. It does not, however, appear, that there was

(g) A letter was written, on the 14th of July 1573, by the privy council to the Lord Mayor of London, "to permit certain Italian *players*, to make show of an instrument of *strange motions* within the city." This order was repeated, on the 19th of the same month; the privy council "mervelling that he did it not at their first request."—The *instrument of strange motions* was probably a theatrical *automaton*.—On the 13th of January 1577⁷/₈, the privy council wrote to the Lord Mayor, "to give order, that one Droufiano, an Italian, a *commedeante*, and his company, may play within the city and liberties of the same, between that day, and the first week in Lent."

then

then any settled company of *foreign* players; though Lord Strange's *tumblers* may have had strangers among them.

As soon as the acting of plays became a profession, jealousy of abuse made it an object of regulation. Accordingly, in 1574, the puritanic zeal, or the prudential caution of the Lord Mayor, Hawes, procured various bye-laws of the common-council, to regulate the representation of plays, within the city of London (*b*). Yet, this zeal was not wholly approved of at Whitehall. And the privy council wrote the Lord Mayor, on the 22d of March, 1574, "to advertize their Lordships
" what causes he hath to restrain playes; to
" the intent, their Lordships may the bet-
" ter answer such as desire liberty for the
" same (*i*)."

The year 1574 is probably the epoch of the first establishment of a regular company of players. It was on the 10th of May 1574, that the influence of the Earl of Leicester obtained for his servants, James Burbadge, John Parkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, a license, under the privy seal,

(*b*) Strype's Stow, vol. i. p. 299-300.

(*i*) The council-regist. of that date.

“ to exercise the faculty of playing, through-
 “ out the realm of England (*k*).” Leicester
 was not a man, who would allow the Queen’s
 grant to be impugned, or his own servants to
 be opposed. And, his influence procured,
 probably, directions from the privy council to
 the Lord Mayor, on the 22d of July 1574
 “ to admit the comedy players within the
 “ city of London; and to be otherwise fa-
 “ vourably used (*l*).”

But, the zeal of the Lord Mayor neither
 darkened the gaiety of the city, nor obstructed
 the operations of the players, so much as did
 the *plague*; which, in that age, frequently
 afflicted the nation, with its destructive ravages.
 During several years of Elizabeth’s reign, the

(*k*) A copy of the patent is in Steevens’s *Shak.* vol. ii. p. 156, who found it among the unpublished papers of Rymer in the British Museum. The next license, for acting generally, was granted by an *open warrant*, on the 29th of April 1593, “ to the plaiers, servants to the Earl of Suffex; “ authorizing them to exercise their quality of playing co-
 “ medies and tragedies, in any county, city, town or cor-
 “ poration, not being within seven miles of London, where
 “ the infection is not, and in places convenient, and times
 “ fit.” [Council-reg^r of that date.]

(*l*) On the same day, a passport was granted “ to the
 “ players to go to London [from the court] and to be well
 “ used on their voyage” [journey.]

privy

privy council often gave directions for restraining players, within the city, and its vicinage; on account of the frequent pestilence, which was supposed to be widely propagated, by the numerous concourse of people, at theatrical representations. It is to this cause, that we ought to attribute the many orders, which were issued under the prudent government of Elizabeth, with regard to players; and which are contradictory in appearance, more than in reality: When the city was sickly, the playhouses were shut; when the city was healthy, they were opened; though dramatic entertainments were not always allowed in the dog-days.

Among those expedient orders, the privy council required the Lord Mayor, on the 24th of December 1578, “to suffer the children
 “ of her Majesty’s chapel, the servants of the
 “ Lord Chamberlain, of the Earl of Warwick,
 “ of the Earl of Leicester, of the Earl of
 “ Essex, and the children of Paul’s, and no
 “ companies else, to exercise plays within
 “ the city; whom their Lordships have
 “ only allowed thereunto, by reason that
 “ *the companies aforementioned* are appointed
 “ to play this Christmas before her Majesty.”

Yet, it is (*m*) said, that there were then, within the city *eight* ordinary places, for playing publickly, to the great impoverishment of the people.

No sooner was the drama protected by the wise ministers of Elizabeth, who distinguished, nicely, between the use, and the abuse, of every institution, than plays, and players, were persecuted by the Puritans, whose enmity may be traced up to the publication of *the Laws of Geneva*, which prohibited stage plays, as sinful (*n*). In 1574, *A form of Christian Policy* was drawn out of the French, and dedicated to Lord Burleigh, by Geoffry Fenton (*o*). Goffson printed his *School of Abuse*, in 1578, which was dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney, by whom

(*m*) Stockwood's Sermon, 1578, quoted in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 39.

(*n*) A translation of the Geneva laws was published at London, in 1562: "Playes and games are forbidden," says the code.

(*o*) Of this book, the whole of chapter the 7th was written to prove "that mynstrels are unworthy of the fellowship of townsmen; that puppet players are equally unworthy; that players were cast out of the church; that all dissolute plays ought to be forbidden:" Yet, he admits, "*comical* and *tragical* showes of schollers, in moral doctrines, to reprove vice, and extol virtue, to be very profitable."

it was disdainfully rejected. In 1579, John Northbrooke published A Treatise, wherein *dicing, dauncing, vaine plaies, or enterludes, with other idle pastimes were reprovved* (p). Stubbes exhibited his *Anatomie of Abuses*, in 1583; showing the *wickedness of stage playes, and enterludes*. The churches continually re-founded with declamations against the *stage*. And, in 1592, the *vanity, and unlawfulness, of plaies, and enterludes*, were maintained, in the university of Cambridge, by Doctor Rainolds, against Doctor Gager, the celebrated dramatist. This academical controversy was soon followed by a kind of theatrical *rescript* in the form of a letter to the vice chancellor of (q) Cambridge, from the privy council, dated at

(p) Mr. Malone says this treatise was published *about* the year 1579; *about* the year 1580. I have two copies of Northbrooke's treatise, which prove, that it was published in 1579, as Herb. Typ. An. vol. ii. p. 991-1117, 1148, show, that it was licensed, in 1578, and in 1577:—Prynne asserts, that it was printed by authority, of which there seems to be no evidence. The notices of Northbrooke's treatise must be, therefore, referred to a period, antecedent to the year 1577.

(q) A letter of the same tenor, and date, was sent to the Vice Chancellor of Oxford. [Council-regr. 29th July 1593.] The following is a copy of the letter from the privy council to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge:—

B b 4

“ Whereas

at Oatlands, on the 29th of July 1593; the same year, in which appeared the *first beir* of Shakspeare's *invention*.

From

“ Whereas the two universities of Cambridge, and Ox-
 “ ford are the nurseries to bring up youth in the knowledge
 “ and fear of God, and in all manner of good learning and
 “ virtuous education, whereby after they may serve their
 “ prince and country in divers callings; for which respect
 “ especial care is to be had of those two universities, that all
 “ means may be used to further the bringing up of the youth
 “ that are bestowed there in all good learning, civil educa-
 “ tion, and honest means, whereby the state and common
 “ wealth may receive hereafter great good. And like
 “ causes to be used, that all such things as may allure and
 “ intice them to lewdness, folly and vicious manners, where-
 “ unto, the corruption of man's nature is more inclined,
 “ may in no wise be used or practised in those places, that
 “ are schools of learning and good nurture. We therefore
 “ as councellers of state to her Majesty, amongst other
 “ things concerning the good government of this realm,
 “ cannot but have a more especial regard of these principal
 “ places, being the fountains from whence learning and
 “ education doth flow, and so is derived into all other parts
 “ of the realm. And for that cause understanding, that
 “ common players do ordinarily resort to the university of
 “ Cambridge, there to recite interludes and plays, some of
 “ them being full of lewd example and most of vanity, be-
 “ sides the gathering together of multitudes of people,
 “ whereby is great occasion also of divers other inconveni-
 “ ences. Wee have thought good to require you the Vice
 “ Chancellor with the assistance of the heads of the colleges,
 “ to take special order that hereafter there may no plays or
 “ interludes

From this outcry against the drama, loud as it was, and long as it continued, some good effects

“ interludes of common players be used or set forth either in
“ the university, or in any place within the compass of five
“ miles, and especially in the town of Chesterton being a
“ village on the water side, nor any shows of unlawful games,
“ that are forbidden by the statutes of this realm. And for
“ the better execution hereof, you shall communicate these
“ our letters to the mayor or mayors of the town of Cam-
“ bridge for the time being, with the rest of the justices of
“ the peace, within five miles of the said town, and that no
“ other justices may give license to the contrary, who shall
“ likewise by virtue hereof be required as well as you to
“ see the tenor of these our letters, put in due execution,
“ every one of you in your several jurisdictions. Moreover
“ because we are informed, that there are divers inmates re-
“ ceived into sundry houses in the town, whereby the town
“ doth grow over burthened with people, being a thing
“ dangerous in this time of infection, and that causeth the
“ prices of victuals and all other things to be raised, and
“ doth breed divers other inconveniences: You shall like-
“ wise by virtue hereof if your own authority be not suf-
“ ficient by your charter, confer with the mayor of the said
“ town of Cambridge of the means, and to put the same in
“ execution how this disorder may be redressed, and to for-
“ see hereafter that the same be in no ways suffered. Lastly,
“ where [as] the fair of Stourbridge is at hand, which is kept
“ a mile out of the town, in respect of the great infection
“ and visitation of the sickness in London at this present;
“ you the vice chancellor shall give order as directed from
“ us, to the mastres and heads of the colleges there, that
“ during the time of the fair, the gates of the colleges may
“ be

effects resulted; as there did from a similar outcry, which was raised by Collier against the stage, in more modern times. As early as 1578, the privy council endeavoured, though not with complete success, to prevent the acting of plays, during *Lent* (r). This solicitude, for the interests of religion, was soon after extended to the preventing of stage plays on *Sundays* (s). Yet, this care did not extend to

“ be kept shut, and that no scholars be permitted to repair thither.”

(r) On the 13th of March 1578, the privy council wrote to the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be acted, within his jurisdiction, during *Lent*, until it be after *Easter*. A similar letter was written, on the 11th of March 1600-1; requiring the Lord Mayor, “ not to fail in suppressing plays, within the city, and the liberties thereof, especially at *Pauls*, and in the *Blackfriars*, during this time of *Lent*.”

(s) The privy council wrote to the justices of Surrey, on the 29th of October 1587, “ that whereas the inhabitants of Southwark had complained unto their Lordships, that the order set down by their Lordships for the restraining of plaies and interludes, within the county on the *Sabbath daies* is not observed; and especiallie within the *Libertie* of the *Clinke*, and within the *parish* of *St. Saviours*, in *Southwark*; they are required to take such strict order, for the staying of the said disorder, as is already taken by the Lord Mayor, within the libertie of the cittie; so as the same be not hereafter suffered, at the times forbidden, in any place in that county.” A similar letter was written,

to the court, where plays were presented, for Queen Elizabeth's recreation, during her whole reign, on Sundays. This restriction against acting plays, on Sundays, was continued, by successive orders of the privy council, till it was at length enacted by parliament, "that no plays should be presented on the " Lord's-day (*t*)."

The players were also obstructed in the exercise of their profession by orders, which originated from a less pious source, and deprived of their profits, by injunctions, which proceeded from a less disinterested motive. The royal *bearward* found, that the people, who are entitled to praise for such a preference, took more delight in stage-playing, than in *bear-baiting*; their *second sight* foreseeing, no doubt, that Shakspeare was at hand, to justify their choice: Accordingly, in July 1591, an order was issued by the privy (*u*) council that

ten, on the same day, to the justices of Middlesex: Yet, Mr. Malone is of opinion, that the acting of plays on Sundays was not restrained till the reign of King James.

(*t*) By 1 Ch. 1. ch. i.

(*u*) The privy council, on the 25th of July 1591, wrote from Greenwich, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of Middlesex, and Surrey:—"Whereas heretofore
" there

that there should be no plays, publickly, shewed on *Thursdays*; because, on *Thursdays*, *bear-baiting*, and such like pastimes, had been *usually* practised. In this manner, were the ministers of Elizabeth, at times, gravely, and wisely, occupied.

By those various causes, were the players, who had no other profession, deprived of their livelihood; by the recurrence of pestilence, by the intervention of *Lent*, by the return of *Sunday*, and by the *competition* of *bearwards*. On the 3d of December 1581, the players stated their case to the privy council; represented their *poor estates*, as having no other means to sustain their wives, and children, but their ex-

“ there hath been order taken to restrain the playing of in-
 “ terludes and plays on the Sabbath-day, notwithstanding
 “ the which, (as wee are informed) the same is neglected
 “ to the prophanation of this day; and all other days of the
 “ week in divers places the players do use to recite their
 “ plays to the *great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-*
 “ *baiting*, and like *pastimes*, which *are maintained for her*
 “ *Majesty's pleasure*, if *occasion require*: These shall be
 “ therefore to require you not only to take order hereafter,
 “ that there may no plays, interludes, or comedies be used or
 “ publickly made and shewed either on the Sundays, or on
 “ the Thursdays, because on the *Thursdays*, these *other games*
 “ *usually have been always accustomed and practised*. Where-
 “ of see you fail not hereafter to see this our order duly ob-
 “ served, for the avoiding inconveniences aforesaid.”

ercise

ercise of playing; showed, that the *sickness* within the city *were well slacked*; and prayed that their Lordships would grant them license to use their playing as heretofore: The privy-council, thereupon, for those considerations, and recollecting also, “ that they were to present certain plays before the Queen’s Majesty, for her solace, in the ensuing Christmas,” granted their petition; and ordered the Lord Mayor to permit them to exercise their trade of playing, as usual. On the 22d of April 1582, this order was extended for a further time, and enforced by weightier considerations; *for honest recreation sake*, and in respect, that *her Majesty sometimes taketh delight in these pastimes* (v). Yet, the privy-council

(v) The following is the proceeding of the privy-council from their register of the 3d of December 1581:—
 “ Whereas *certain Companies of Players heretofore using*
 “ *their common exercise of playing within and about the city*
 “ *of London*, have of late in respect of the general infection
 “ within the city been restrained by their Lordships com-
 “ mandment from playing: the said players this day exhib-
 “ ited a petition unto their Lordships, humbly desiring
 “ that as well in respect of their poor estates having no other
 “ means to sustain them, their wives and children, but their
 “ exercise of playing, and were *only brought up from their*
 “ *youth in the practice and profession of musick and playing*:
 “ as for that the sickness within the city were well slacked,

“ so

council did not, in their laudable zeal for *honest recreation*, depart, in the least, from accustomed prudence ; requiring, as essential conditions of removing those restrictions, that

“ so that no danger of infection could follow by the assemblies of people at their plays : It would please their Lordships therefore to grant them license to use their said exercise of playing, as heretofore they had done. Their Lordships thereupon for the considerations aforesaid, as also for that they are to present certain plays before the Queen’s Majesty for her solace in the Christmas-time now following, were contented to yield unto their said humble petition ; and ordered that the Lord Mayor of the city of London should suffer and permit them to use and exercise their trade of playing in and about the city as they have heretofore [been] accustomed upon the week-days only, being holidays or other days so as they do forbear wholly to play on the Sabbath-day either in the forenoon or afternoon, which to do they are by this their Lordships order expressly denied and forbidden.”———On the 25th of April 1582, the privy-council wrote the Lord Mayor of London the following letter :—“ That whereas heretofore for sundry good causes and considerations their Lordships have oftentimes given order for the restraining of plays in and about the city of London, and nevertheless of late, *for honest recreation sake in respect that her Majesty sometimes taketh delight in these pastimes* their Lordships think it not unfit having regard to the season of the year and the clearness of the city from infection to allow of certain companies of players to exercise their playing in London, partly to the end they might thereby attain to the more perfection and dexterity in that profession the rather to

“ content

that the *comedies* and *interludes* be looked into for matter, which might breed corruption of manners; and that fit persons might be appointed, for allowing such plays only, as should yield no example of evil. We shall find, in our progress, that regular commissioners were appointed in 1589, for reviewing

“ content her Majesty, whereupon their Lordships permitted them to use their playing until they should see to the contrary and foreseeing that the same might be done without impeachment of the service of God, restrained them from playing on the Sabbath-day: And for as much as their Lordships suppose that their honest exercise of playing to be used on the holydays after evening-prayer as long as the season of the year may permit and may be without danger of the infection will not be offensive so that if care be had that their comedies and interludes be looked into, and that those which do contain matter that may breed corruption of manners and conversation among the people be forbidden. Whereunto their Lordships wish there be appointed some fit persons who may consider and allow of such plays only as be fit to yield honest recreation and no example of evil. Their Lordships pray his Lordship to revoke his late inhibition against their playing on the holydays, but that he do suffer them as well within the city as without to use their exercise of playing on the said holydays after evening prayer only, forbearing the Sabbath-day according to their Lordships said order, and when he shall find that the continuance of the same their exercise, by the increase of the sickness and infection, shall be dangerous to certify their Lordships and they will presently take order accordingly.”

the

the labours of our dramatists; for allowing the fit, and rejecting *the unmannerly*; which appointment seems to be, only, a systematic improvement of Queen Elizabeth's ecclesiastical injunctions, in 1559.

Of such players, and such companies, that incited *honest merriment*, during Elizabeth's days, and were regarded as objects of consideration, by some of the wisest ministers, that have ever governed England, who would not wish to know a little more? The children of St. Paul's appear to have formed a company, in very early times. At the accession of Elizabeth, Sebastian Westcott, was the master of those children. With his boyish actors, he continued to entertain that great Queen, and to be an object of favour, and reward, till the year 1586. He was succeeded, as master of the children of Paul's, by Thomas Giles, who, in the same manner tried to please, and was equally rewarded for his pains. Thomas Giles was succeeded, in 1600, by Edward Piers, as the master of the children of Paul's, who was to instruct them, in the theory of music, and direct them "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror
" up to nature." The establishment of the children of her Majesty's *honourable chapel* seems to have been formed on the plan of
that

that of the children of St. Paul's. Richard Bower, who had presided over this honourable chapel under Henry the VIIIth, continued to solace Elizabeth, by the singing, and acting, of the children of the chapel, till 1572. Richard Bower was then succeeded, in his office, and in those modes of pleasing by, John Honnys. This master was followed by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of the chapel; who, not only endeavoured to gladden life, by the acting of his children, but to improve it, by the publication of the penitential psalms, with appropriate music (*w*). The children of *Westminster* had for their director, John Taylor, from the year 1565, for a long succession of theatrical seasons. And, the children of *Windsor* were, in the same manner, employed by Richard Ferrant, during Elizabeth's residence there, "to ease the anguish of a torturing hour."

It was from those nurseries, that many a cyon was grafted into the more regular companies of players. During the infancy of the drama, the players were driven, by the

(*w*) William Hunnis republished, in 1597, "Seven Sobs of a sorrowful Soul for Sin;" and, in the same year, he printed "A Handful of Honifuckles."—We may here see another example how the same name was different spelt *Honnys*, and *Hunnis*.

penalties of the statutes against vagabonds, to seek for shelter under private patronage, by entering themselves, as servants, to the greater peers, and even to the middling sort of gentlemen. At the accession of Elizabeth, the Lord Robert Dudley's players became conspicuous. When, by his influence, they were incorporated, into a regular company, in 1574, their leaders were James (x) Burbadge; John Perkyne; John Lanham; William Johnson; and Robert Wilson. None of these rose to eminence, or contributed much to the advancement of the stage. When the Earl of Leicester died, in September 1588, they were left to look for protection from a new master.

In 1572, Sir Robert Lane had theatrical servants, at the head of whom was Laurence Dutton, who appears to have joined the Earl of Warwick's company: but Lane's servants seem not to have long continued, either to

(x) James Burbadge, who is more known, as the father of Richard Burbadge, and Cuthbert Burbadge, than for his own performances, during the infancy of the theatre, lived long in Holywell-street. He had a daughter baptized, by the name of Alice, in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shore-ditch, on the 11th of March 1576. He was buried there, as appears by the register, on the 2d of February 1596. Helen Burbadge, widow, was buried in the same cœmety, on the 8th of May 1613; and was probably the relict of James Burbadge.

profit, by pleasing others, or to please themselves, by profit.

In 1572, Lord Clinton entertained dramatic servants, who, as they did little, have left little for the historian of the stage to record. When the Lord Clinton died, on the 16th of January 158 $\frac{4}{7}$, those servants found shelter probably from some other peer, who like him, was ambitious of giving and receiving the pleasures of the stage.

In 1575, appeared at the head of the Earl of Warwick's company, Laurence Dutton, and John Dutton, who, as they did not distinguish themselves, cannot be much distinguished by the historian of the theatre.

In 1575, the Lord Chamberlain had a company of acting servants: whether William Elderton, and Richard Mouncafter, were then the leaders of it, is uncertain: But, Shakspeare was, certainly, admitted into this company, which he has immortalized more by his dramas, than by his acting. In 1597, John Heminges, and Thomas (y) Pope, were at the head

(y) THOMAS POPE, who is said to have played the part of a clown, died before the year 1600, adds Mr. Malone. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 198.] Yet, Pope made his will, which may be seen in the Prerogative-office, on the 22d of

head of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, who were afterwards retained by King James; and long stood the foremost, for the regularity of their establishment, and the excellency of their plays.

In 1576, the Earl of Suffex had a theatrical company, which began to act at *The Rose*, on the 27th of December 1593; yet, never rose to distinguished eminence.

In 1577, Lord Howard had dramatic servants, who, as they did not distinguish themselves, have not been remembered by others.

July 1603; and which was proved on the 13th of February 1604. He devised his shares in the *Curtain*, and the *Globe* to Thomas Bromley, who had been theretofore baptized, in *St. Andrew's, Undershaft*. [Thomas Bromlie was baptized, says the register, which mentions the baptism of no other Thomas Bromlie, on the 28th of August 1602.] He bequeathed his wearing apparel, and his arms, to Robert Gough, the player, who had, probably, been his apprentice, or servant, and to John Edmans. Pope bequeathed three pounds to the poor of the parish of *St. Saviour's, Southwark*, where he lived, and £. 20, for his funeral expences, and a monument, in the church of that parish, wherein he was buried, by his own direction; yet his burial is not recorded in the parish-register. He left £. 100 to Susan Gascoigne, whom he had educated. He devised several houses on *the Bank-side* to his brother, John Pope, and left handsome legacies to his mother. He was plainly a man of property; who spoke familiarly, in his will, of his *plate*, and *diamond-rings*, which the players generally affected to possess.

In

In 1578, the Earl of Effex had a company of players, who probably finished their career, when he paid the penalty of his treason, in 1601.

In 1579, Lord Strange had a company of tumblers, who, at times, entertained the Queen with *feats of activity*; and who began to play at *The Rose*, under the management of Philip Henslow, on the 19th of February, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$; yet, were never otherwise distinguished, than like the *strutting player, whose conceit lay in his hamstring*.

In 1579, the Earl of Darby entertained a company of comedians, which had at its head, in 1599, Robert Brown, to whom William Slye devised, in 1608, his share in the Globe.

In 1585, the Queen had certainly a company of players, which is said, without sufficient authority, to have been formed, by the advice of Walsingham, in 1581. The earliest payment, which appears to have been made to the Queen's company, was issued on the 6th of March 158 $\frac{5}{8}$. And, in March 1589-90, John Dutton, who was one of Lord Warwick's company, and John Lanham, who belonged to Lord Leicester's, appear to have been at the head of Elizabeth's company, which must be distinguished from the ancient establish-

ment of the household, that received a salary at the Exchequer, without performing any duty at court.

In 1591, the Lord Admiral, had a company of comedians, who began to act at *The Rose*, on the 14th of May, 1594; and who had at its head, in 1598, Robert Shaw, and Thomas Downton. Connected with them, in the management, and concerns, of the company, were Philip Henslow, and Edward Allen; two persons, who are better known, and will be longer remembered, in the theatrical world (z).

At

(z) Philip Henslow was illiterate himself; yet, as he was the protector of Drayton and Dekker, of Ben Johnson and Massinger, will never be forgotten in the annals of the stage. He rose from a low origin by prudent conduct. He married Agnes Woodward, widow, by whom he had no issue; at least none, who survived him. It was, by this marriage, that he became connected with Edward Allen, the celebrated comedian; who married, on the 22d October, 1592, Joan Woodward, the daughter of Henslow's wife. About that epoch, he connected himself with the stage. He was the proprietor of *The Rose* theatre, on the Bankside. Here, the Lord Strange's company, the Lord Nottingham's company, and the Lord Pembroke's company, used to play, under his prudent management. He became a proprietor of the bear-garden. He was a vestryman of St. Saviour's parish, Southwark; where he lived, and died. Henslow had the honour, with other respectable parishioners, to be one of the patentees, to whom King James granted his charter, in favour of St. Saviour's. He made his will, on the 1st of

At the accession of King James, the theatrical servants of the Lord Admiral had the honour

January 16 $\frac{15}{16}$; leaving his wife Agnes, his executrix, and his son *Mr. Edward Allen, Esq.* one of the overseers of it. This fact explains how the account books of Henslow, which have illustrated so many obscure points, in theatrical matters, came to Dulwich college. He appears from his will, which may be seen in the prerogative-office, to have had, at the time of making it, no connection with playhouses, plays, or players. He devised the reversion of *the Boar's-head*, and *the Bear-garden*, to his godson Philip Henslow, the son of his brother William; nor did he forget his brother John, a *waterman*. The testator was buried, as appears from the register, in the chancel of St. Saviour's church, on the 10th of January 16 $\frac{15}{16}$.

Edward Allen was born in 1566; and died in 1626, after an active life of uncommon celebrity, which has furnished ample matter for biographers to detail. Though he was a younger man than Shakspeare, he became distinguished, as an actor, when that poet's dramas began to illumine the stage. From the epoch of his marriage, in 1592, he probably resided on *The Bankside*. Yet, he built *The Fortune* playhouse, near Golden-lane, in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in the year 1600. On the 2d of March 160 $\frac{7}{8}$, Allen was chosen a vestryman of St. Saviour's; as Henslow was already of the same parish trust. He retired from the stage soon after the death of Henslow in January 16 $\frac{15}{16}$. In 1619, he founded Dulwich college. He lived on till November 1626, in the same course of prudent respectability; perfecting that great act of his life; visiting the good; and receiving the visits of the great. In the course of my theatrical researches, I have often observed, that charity is the last act of a player.

to be taken into the service of Henry-Frederick, Prince of Wales (a).

In 1592, the Earl of Hertford entertained a company of theatrical servants, who have left few materials for the theatrical remembrancer.

In 1593, the Earl of Pembroke sheltered, in the same manner, under his protection, a company of persons, who equally made a profession of acting, as a mode of livelihood, and who were more desirous of profit, than emulous of praise. This company began to play at *The Rose*, on the 28th of October 1600.

The Earl of Worcester had also a company of theatrical servants, who, at the accession of King James, had the honour to be entertained by Queen Anne, in the same capacity.

Thus, we see, in this slight enumeration, fifteen distinct companies of players; who, during the protracted reign of Elizabeth, and

(a) We may learn from Birch's Life of Prince Henry, appx. p. 455, the names of his *players*:

Thomas Towne	Anthony Jeffes
Thomas Downton	Edward Colbrände
William Byrde	William Parre
Samuel Rowley	Richard Pryone
Edward Jubye	William Stratford
Charles Massye	Francis Grace
Humphrey Jeffes	John Shanke.

in the time of Shakspeare, successively gained a scanty subsistence, by *lascivious pleasing*. The demise of the Queen brought along with it the dissolution of those companies, as retainers to the great: And, we shall find, that the accession of King James gave rise to a theatric policy, of a different kind. The act of (b) parliament, which took away from private persons the privilege of licensing players, or of protecting strolling actors, from the penalties of vagrancy, put an end for ever to the scenic system of prior times.

This subject, though curious, has hitherto remained very obscure. Materials for illustration were wanting, while *self-sufficiency* assumed the pen of history. A laudable curiosity still requires additional information, which can only be furnished, by the communication of new notices, in a distinct arrangement. This, I have endeavoured to perform, by compiling *a chronological series* of the several payments, which were made, from time to time, by Elizabeth's orders, to those various companies, for their respective exhibitions: And, this *chronological series*, I have subjoined in the marginal note; because it will show more clearly, than has yet been done, in which

(b) 1 Jas. 1. ch. vii.

company Elizabeth ofteneft “took delight;” on what days she enjoyed this recreation; and what she gave for each day’s enjoyment; whether that delight was communicated, by the acting of the players, *the feats* of the tumblers, or the groffer sports of the bear-garden (c).

While

(c) A CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES of Queen Elizabeth’s payments, for plays acted before her: [From the council-reg^{rs}.]

On the 10th January 156 $\frac{2}{3}$, to Lord Dudley’s players, for a play, presented before her this Christmas - - - - -	£.	6	13	4
18th January 156 $\frac{2}{3}$, to the Earl of Warwick’s players for two plays, presented before her last Christmas - - - -		13	6	8
12th January 157 $\frac{2}{3}$, to Lawrence Dutton, and his fellows, servants to Sir Robert Lane Knight, for presenting a play before her on last St. Stephen’s day, at night -		6	13	4
29th February 157 $\frac{2}{3}$, to Lawrence Dutton, and his fellows, for presenting a play before her on Shrove Sunday, at night - -		13	6	8
7th January 157 $\frac{3}{4}$, to the Earl of Leicefter’s players for two plays, presented before her - - - - -		13	6	8
And by way of her Majesty’s reward for their charges, &c. - - - - -		6	13	4
10th January 157 $\frac{3}{4}$, for two plays presented before her this Christmas, viz.				
To Lord Clinton’s men -		6	13	4
To William Elderton’s -		6	13	4

On

While the actors were chiefly children ;
and while the theatrical companies were no-
blemen's

On the 22d February 157 $\frac{3}{4}$, to the Earl of Leicester's players, for presenting a play before her the 21st instant	- -	£. 6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6	8
18th March 157 $\frac{3}{4}$, to Richard Mouncafter for two plays presented before her on Candlemas-day, and Shrove-tuesday last				
				20 marks.
And further for his charges	-			20 marks.
29th December 1575, to the Earl of Leicester's players, for presenting a play before her, on Candlemas-day at night	10	—	—	
2d January 157 $\frac{5}{8}$, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for presenting two plays before her, on St. Stephen's day, and New year's day last, at night	- - -	20	—	—
7th January 157 $\frac{5}{8}$, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play presented before her, on Candlemas day, at night	-	10	—	—
11th March 157 $\frac{5}{8}$, to Richard Mouncafter, for presenting a play before her, on Shrove Sunday last	- - - -	10	—	—
11th March 157 $\frac{5}{8}$, to Lawrence Dutton and John Dutton, servants to the Earl of Warwick, for presenting a play before her, on Shrove Monday last	- -	10	—	—
20th January 157 $\frac{6}{7}$, for two plays presented before her, in the Christmas holydays last, viz.				
To the Earl of Warwick's players		6	13	4
To the Earl of Leicester's players		6	13	4
And				

various powers of performance, could not have been very large, or commodious. When
Queen

And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	£. 3	6	8
On the 13th March 157 ⁸ , to the Earl of Warwick's players, for a play presented before her, on Shrove Sunday	- - - - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	- -	3	6	8
18th March 157 ⁸ , to the Earl of Warwick's players, for a play that should have been played on Candlemas-day last	- -	6	13	4
25th January 157 ⁹ , for four plays presented before her, including the reward to each of them. viz.				
To the Lord Chamberlain's players	10	—	—	
To the Earl of Leicester's players	10	—	—	
To the Earl of Warwick's players	10	—	—	
To the Lord Straunge's tumblers	10	—	—	
23d February 157 ⁹ , to the Lord Chamber- lain's players, for a play presented before her, on Candlemas-day last	- - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	- -	3	6	8
23d February 157 ⁹ , to the Lord Chamber- lain's players, for presenting a play be- fore her, on Shrove-tuesday last	- -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6	8
23d February 157 ⁹ , to the Earl of Darby's players, for a play presented before her, on Sunday the 14th instant	- - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	- -	3	6	8
30th January 158 ⁰ , to Ralph Bowes, master of her Majesty's game of Paris garden, for bringing the said game before her, on St. John's-day, at Christmas last	-	5	—	—
				On

Queen Elizabeth did her best, to entertain the French ambassador, with her *tayllors*, *payntors*, *silkwemen*,

On the 20th January 1580, for three plays, presented before her, viz.

To the Earl of Suffex's men for a play			
on St. John's day at night	- £.	10	— —
To the Earl of Leicefter's servants			
for a play on St. Stephen's day	-	10	— —
To the Earl of Darby's men for a			
play on New year's day	- -	10	— —
13th February 1580, to the Earl of Leicefter's servants, for a play presented before her, on Shrove-tuesday	- - -	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	- -	3	6 8
13th February 1580, to the Lord Chamberlain's servants, for a play presented before her, on Candlemas day last	- -	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	- -	3	6 8
2d July 1581, to Edward Bowes, the master of her Majesty's game of Paris garden, for two representations of the said game before her, at Whitehall, on the 23d of April, and 1st of May last		10	— —
21st January 158½, to Edward Bowes, master of her Majesty's game of Paris garden, for presenting the said game before her, at Westminster, the 4th, 6th, 7th, and last day of December	- - - -	20	— —
21st January 158½, to the Lord Strange's servants, for sundry feats of activity, shewed before her, on Childermas day last	- - - -	5	— —
And by way of her Majesty's reward	- -	5	— —

On

*silkwemen, and drappers, “ to garnish the old
“ garments to make them seme fresh againe;”*
and

On the 6th March 158², to her Majesty's players for
a play presented before her; on Shrove
Sunday - - - - - £. 10 — —

4th March 158⁷, to her Majesty's players,
for three plays presented before her, at
Christmas and Shrovetide - - - 20 — —

27th February 158⁸, to the Lord Admiral's
players, for two interludes, presented be-
fore her Majesty, on the Sunday after
Christmas day, and Shrove Sunday last 20 — —

16th March 158⁸, to her Majesty's players,
for two interludes presented before her,
on St. Stephen's day, and Shrove Sunday 20 — —

10th March 158⁹, to the Lord Admiral's
servants, for certain feats of activity,
shewed before her, on the 23 Decem-
ber last - - - - - 6 13 4

Also for a play presented before her, on
Shrove-tuesday last - - - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - - 6 13 4

15th March 158⁹, to *John Dutton* and *John
Laubon* [Lanhem] two of the Queen's
players, for two interludes, shewed be-
fore her, on St. Stephen's day, and
Shrove Sunday last - - - - - 20 — —

5th March 159⁰, to her Majesty's players
for four interludes presented before her,
on St. Stephen's day, Sunday after New-
year's day, Twelfth day, and Shrove
Sunday - - - - - 26 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 13 6 8

On

and with all her houses, and clouds, and hills,
and other devices, she appears neither to have
made

On the 5th March 1590, to the said players, for shewing an interlude before her, on			
New Year's day last - - -	£.	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward - -		3	6 8
D ^o to the Lord Admiral's servants, for two plays, presented before her, on St. John's day, and Shrove-tuesday last - -		13	6 8
And by way of her Majesty's reward - -		6	13 4
20th February 159½, to the Earl of Hertford's servants, for a play presented before her, on Twelfth night last - - - -		10	— —
D ^o to Lord Strange's servants, for six plays, presented before her, at Whitehall—viz.			
—St. John's Day; Innocents Day;			
New Year's Day; Sunday after			
Twelfth Day; Shrove Sunday; and			
Shrove Tuesday - - - - -		40	— —
And by way of her Majesty's reward -		20	— —
D ^o to the Earl of Suffex's servants, for a play presented before her, on Sunday after New Year's day, the 2d of January last - - - - -		10	— —
27th February 159½, to her Majesty's players for a play presented by them before her, on St. Stephen's day last -		10	— —
7th March 159¾, to Lord Strange's servants for three plays presented before her Majesty at Hampton-court, viz. St. John's Night; New Year's Eve; and New Year's day - - - - -		20	— —
And by way of her Majesty's reward -		10	— —
11th March 159¾, to the Earl of Pembroke's			

servants

made any splendid show, nor furnished any adequate accommodations. The children of St.

servants, for two plays presented before her Majesty at court, viz. on St. John's day, at night, and Twelfth day, at night £. 13 6 8

And by way of her Majesty's reward 6 13 4

On the 27th November 1597, to John Hemings and Thomas Pope, servants to the Lord Chamberlain, for six interludes, presented before her Majesty, in the Christmas holydays last - - - - - 40 - -

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 20 - -

3d December 1598, to John Hemings and Thomas Pope, servants to the Lord Chamberlain, for four interludes, presented before her Majesty - - - 26 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 13 6 8

D^o to *Robert Shaw*, and *Thomas Downton*, servants of the Earl of Nottingham, for two plays presented before her - - - 13 6 8

And by way of her Majesty's reward - - - 6 13 4

18th February 1598, to John Hemings, for three interludes, shewed before her, by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, viz. on St. Stephen's day, at night, Twelfth day at night; and Shrove Sunday, at night 20 - -

And by way of her Majesty's reward - - - 10 - -

D^o to *John Shawe* for two plays presented before her, by the Lord Admiral's servants, on St. John's day; and New Year's day - - - - - 20 marks.

And by way of her Majesty's reward - £. 6 13 4

D^o to *Robert Browne*, for a play presented before

and *curtaines* were familiarly known, and puritanically reprobated, as *Venus palaces* (e). Before the year 1586, there was a playhouse at Newington-butts, in the county of Surrey, which was denominated the *Theatre* (f). The passion for theatrical representations was, at that time, become excessive; as we may learn, indeed, from *Stubbs's Anatomy of Abuses*, : So there were managers, who endeavoured to gratify the popular passion for scenic amusement, by erecting theatres. But, it is not easy to calculate the number of playhouses, in those days, nor to ascertain their sites. It seems, however, certain, that, while the beams of

“ dlex] as *the Theatre*, and such like, shall forbear any
 “ more to play until Michaelmas be past.”

(e) *Stubbs's Anatomy of Abuses* 1583, sign. LV. *Stubbs* immediately subjoins, “ For proof whereof, but marke
 “ the flocking and running to *theaters* and *curtens*, daylie
 “ and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see playes
 “ and enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdie
 “ speaches; such laughing and fleering: such kissing and
 “ buffing: such clipping and culling: such winkinge and
 “ glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like is used, as is won-
 “ derful to behold.”—We may easily suppose, *Stubbs* did not so much design to draw a picture, as to daub a caricature.

(f) The letters of the privy council, dated the 11th of May 1586; directing *the theatres* to be shut up, for preventing pestilence.

Shakspeare's fun brightened the stage, there were seven principal theatres in London, and its suburbs: The *Globe* on the Bankside, the *Curtain* in Shoreditch, the *Red-bull* in St. John's street, and the *Fortune* in White-cross street; the Theatre in Blackfriars, the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, and a more private play-house in Whitefriars: Add to these, the several theatres, which had, in the mean time, arisen in St. Saviour's parish from this passion of the people, who laudably preferred the sentimental pleasure of the drama, to the savage entertainment of bear-baiting.

But, this preference, which encreased the number of theatres, gave offence to those, who wished to influence the people, in their religious opinions, and to direct them, in their social conduct. A violent outcry was now, raised against the number of playhouses. Complaints were repeatedly made to the (g)
privy-

(g) The vestry of St. Saviour's, Southwark, where so many playhouses had been erected, thought fit to order, on the 19th July 1598, " that a petition shall be made to the
" bodye of the councell, concerning the playhouses in this
" parish; wherein the enormities shall be showed that comes
" thereby to the parish; and that in respect thereof they
" may be dismissed and put down from playing: And that
" iij or ij of the churchwardens &c shall present the cause
" with

privy-council, of the manifold abuses, that had grown from the *many* houses, which were employed in, and about London, for common stage plays. These complaints were, at length, fully considered by the privy-council. The wise men, who composed the councils of Elizabeth declared, that *stage-playing was not evil in itself*. They distinguished between the use, and the abuse, of salutary recreations, in a well governed state. And they determined, “as her Majestie sometimes took delight in seeing, and hearing the stage plays,” to regulate the stage, by reducing the number of theatres, and increasing their usefulness. For these ends, the privy-council, who did not distrust their own power, issued, on the 22d of June 1600, an order “for the restraint of the immoderate use of playhouses,”

“with a collector of the Borough-side, and another of the Bankside.” As the playhouses were not put down, the same vestry tried to derive a profit from them, by tything them; and on the 28th of March 1600: “It was ordered, that the churchwardens shall talk with the players for *tithes* for their playhouses, and for the rest of the new tanne houses, near thereabouts within the liberty of the *Clinke*, and for money for the poore according to the order taken before my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Mr of the Revels.” [These curious extracts were copied from the parish-register.]

which, as it does honour to their wisdom, and is curious in itself, I have subjoined in a marginal note (*b*).

In

(*b*) An order of the privy-council for the restraint of the number of playhouses. [From the council-register of the 22d of June 1600.]

“ Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made unto the Lords and others of her Majesty’s privy-council, of the manifold abuses and disorders that have grown and do continue by occasion of many houses, erected, and employed *in*, and *about*, the city of London, for common stage plays: And now very lately by reason of some complaints exhibited by sundry persons against the building of the like house in or near Golding-lane, by one Edward Allen, a servant of the right honorable the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generalty touching all the said houses for stage plays, and the use of playing, as in particular, concerning the said house now in hand to be built in or near Golding-lane, hath been brought into question and consultation among their Lordships. Forasmuch as it is manifestly known, and granted that the multitude of the said houses, and the misgovernment of them, hath been and is daily occasion, of the idle, riotous, and dissolute living of great numbers of people, that leaving all such honest and painful course of life as they should follow, do meet and assemble there, and of many particular abuses and disorders that do thereupon ensue. And yet nevertheless it is considered that the use and exercise of such plays (not being evil in itself) may with a good order and moderation, be suffered in a well-governed state: And that her Majesty being pleased sometimes to take delight and recreation in the sight and hearing of them, some order is fit to be taken, for the allowance and maintenance of such persons

In this theatrical edict of the privy-council, we see the wisdom of Elizabeth's ministers.

They

persons as are thought meetest in that kind to yield her Majesty recreation and delight, and consequently of the houses that must serve for publick playing to keep them in exercise. To the end therefore that both the great abuses of the plays and playing-houses may be redressed, and yet the aforesaid use and moderation of them retained; The Lords and the rest of her Majesty's privy-council, with one and full consent have ordered in manner and form as followeth:—

First—That there shall be about the city two houses and no more, allowed to serve for the use of the common stage plays; of the which houses, one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly called *the Bankside* or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex.—And for as much as their Lordships have been informed by Edmund Tilsney Esq. her Majesty's servant, and Master of the Revels, that the house now in hand to be built by the said Edward Allen, is not intended to increase the number of the playhouses but to be instead of another (namely the Curtain) which is either to be ruined, and plucked down, or to be put to some other good use, as also that the situation thereof is meet and convenient for that purpose; It is likewise ordered, that the said house of Allen shall be allowed to be one of the two houses, and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admiral, so as the house called the Curtain be (as it is pretended) either ruined, or applied to some other good use. And for the other house to be allowed on Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permit, to the company of players, that shall play there, to make their own choice, which they will have, of divers houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more. And the said company of players, being

They allowed *the use* of theatres, but endeavoured, by corrective regulations, to prevent *the abuses* of them; acknowledging, in the

the servants of the Lord Chamberlain that are to play there, have made choice, of the house called *The GLOBE*; it is ordered, that the said house and none other shall be there allowed: And especially it is forbidden that any stage plays shall be played (as sometimes they have been) in any common inn for publick assembly in or near about the city.

Secondly—Forasmuch as these stage plays, by the multitude of houses and company of players have been so frequent not serving for recreation, but inviting and calling the people daily from their trade and work to mispend their time. It is likewise ordered, that the two severall companies of players assigned unto the two houses allowed, may play each of them in their severall house twice a week, and no oftener; and especially they shall refrain to play on the Sabbath-day, upon pain of imprisonment and further penalty: And that they shall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and times as any extraordinary sickness or infection of disease shall appear to be in or about the city.

Thirdly—Because the orders will be of little force and effect unless they be duly put in execution, by those unto whom it appertaineth to see them executed: It is ordered that severall copies of these orders shall be sent to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of the peace of the counties of Middlesex, and Surrey, and that letters shall be written unto them from their Lordships, strictly charging them to see to the execution of the same, as well by committing to prison any owners of playhouses, and players, as shall disobey and resist these orders, as by any other good and lawful means, that, in their discretion they shall find expedient, and to certify their Lordships from time to time as they shall see cause of their proceedings herein.”

language

language of John Taylor, the water-poet :

“ For, plays are good, or bad, as they are us’d ;

“ And, best inventions often are abus’d.”

For all the salutary purposes of *honest recreation*; they deemed two playhouses sufficient ; one in Middlesex, which was to be *The Fortune* ; and one in Surrey, to be *The Globe* : And, foreseeing that those regulations would be of little effect, without enforcement, either for enjoying the use, or correcting the abuse, of many playhouses, the privy-council wrote letters from Greenwich, on the 22d of June 1600, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of Middlesex, and of Surrey ; urging them, by every proper motive, to carry those wise regulations into effectual execution (i). Owing to whatever cause, whether want of authority, in the magistrates, or want of inclination in the men, these orders of the privy-council were not executed. The disorders of the playhouses rather increased, than diminished. The mayor, and aldermen of London, felt the grievance, without being able to apply the remedy : For, they were neither urged, by the clamour of the multitude, nor supported, by the voice of the people ; who now relished theatrical amusements,

(i) Council-register of the 22d June 1600.

as they were better accommodated, in the many new playhouses, and better gratified by the representation of Shakspeare's dramas. The privy-council did not so much partake of the scenic enthusiasm of the people, as they viewed the popular concourse to scenic representations, in the light of a political disorder; which, having increased under restraint, required correction, rather than countenance. In this spirit, they wrote a stronger letter to the Lord Mayor, and aldermen, of London, on the 31st of December 1601; reprehending past neglects, and requiring future compliance with the former orders (j).

The

(j) The following is a transcript of the letter to the Lord Mayor and aldermen, from the council-register of the 31st of December 1601:

“ We have received a letter from you, renewing a complaint of the great abuse and disorder within and about the city of London, by reason of the multitude of playhouses, and the inordinate resort and concourse of dissolute and idle people daily unto publick stage plays; for the which information, as wee do commend your Lordship because it betokeneth your care and desire to reform the disorders of the city; So wee must let you know, that we did much rather expect to understand that our order (set down and prescribed about a year and a half since for reformation of the said disorders upon the like complaint at that time) had been duly executed, than to find the same disorders and abuses so much increased as they are. The blame whereof, as we cannot

The privy-council, on the same day, wrote, with a sharper pen, to the justices of Middlesex, and Surrey, letters of reproof, rather than directions, in these energetic terms: "It is in vain for us to take knowledge of great

cannot but impute in great part to the justices of the peace or some of them in the counties of Middlesex, and Surrey, who had special direction and charge from us to see our said order executed, for the confines of the city, wherein the most part of those playhouses are situate: So wee do wish that it might appear unto us, that any thing hath been endeavoured by the predecessor of you the Lord Mayor, and by you the aldermen, for the redress of the said enormities, and for observation and execution of our said order within the city: We do therefore once again renew hereby our direction unto you, (as we have done by our letters to the justices of Middlesex, and Surrey) concerning the observation of our former order, which wee do pray and require you to cause duily and diligently to be put in execution for all points thereof, and especially for the expresse and streight prohibition of any more playhouses, than those two that are mentioned and allowed in the said order: Charging and straitly commanding all such persons as are the owners of any the houses used for stage plays within the city, not to permit any more public plays to be used, exercised, or showed from henceforth in their said houses: and to take bonds of them (if you shall find it needful) for the performance thereof, or if they shall refuse to enter into bonds, or to observe our said order, then to commit them to prison, untill they shall conform themselves thereunto: And so praying you, as yourself do make the complaint, and find the enormity, so to apply your best endeavour to the remedy of the abuse."

abuses,

abuses, and to give order for redress, if our directions find no better execution, than it seemeth they do ; and we must needs impute the blame thereof to you, the justices of peace, that are put in trust to see them performed ; whereof we may give you a plain instance in the great abuse continued, or rather increased, in the multitude of playhouses, and stage plays, in, and about, the city of London (k).”

In those proceedings, for restraining the number of playhouses, and checking the popular concourse to scenic entertainments, a discerning eye may perceive, that stage plays, rather than the English stage in general had risen to great, though not to the greatest splendour. At the demise of Elizabeth, Shakspeare had produced two and twenty of his immortal dramas. The commission, which Elizabeth established, in 1589, for revising plays, before Shakspeare's appearance, as a dramatist, had an obvious tendency to form the chastity of his muse ; as the chastity of Shakspeare's muse had the same tendency to reform the popular taste. To this pure source of refinement, and of pleasure, we may trace the popular passion for theatrical representations, which the ministers of Elizabeth regarded as

(k) Council-register of that date.

a disorder, requiring necessary reform. The concourse of the people to the playhouse enabled the managers of them, first, to furnish simple accommodation, then to give greater convenience, and lastly, to superadd ornamental splendour: This progress of improvement, we may remark, drew still more the popular resort; while more ample recompense supplied the means of higher gratification to the multitudes, who, at the demise of Elizabeth, found in theatrical representations their greatest amusement.

Such are the various views, which those new notices give of the stage, in England, at every step of its progress. As Scotland was inhabited, during every period, by people of the same lineage, its laws, its customs, and its amusements, were, in every age, nearly alike. When the warlike sports of the field were fashionable among the valorous people of England, tournaments, and other martial pastimes, were the delight of the hardy inhabitants of Scotland (1). When London had its *abbot of misrule*, Edinburgh had its *abbot*

(1) Arnot's Edin. 71: William the Lion, who died in 1212, gave to the citizens of Edinburgh a valley, on the road to Leith, for the special purpose of holding tournaments and other manly feats of arms.

of (*m*) *unreason*; when the citizens of London amused themselves with the festive feats of Robin Hood, the citizens of Edinburgh diverted themselves with the manly exercises of *Robert* (*n*) *Hude*; and while the youth of London rose in tumult, when their sports were restrained, the (*o*) *bairns* of Edinburgh ran into insurrection, when an attempt was made, at the æra of the Reformation, to suppress *the game of Robin Hood*. In Scotland, the drama held the same course, as in England, from rudeness to refinement; beginning with *scriptural* (*p*) MYSTERIES; improving with MORALITIES; and *finishing off* with *monarchicke* TRAGEDIES (*q*).

(*m*) Arnot's Edin. 77. In 1555, the parliament of Scotland passed an act "Anentis Robert Hude and Abbot of Un-reason;" whereby it was ordained, "that in all times cummyng, na maner of person be chosen Robert Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreason, Queenis of May, nor otherwise, nother in burgh, nor to Landwart." [Skenes Actes, 1597, p. 150.] Those sports of the field were surely very harmless, perhaps salutary: But, the *moralities*, which, at that very epoch, were set forth by Sir David Lyndsay, were certainly in the highest degree obscene, in their representation, and immoral, in their tendency.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) Let no minute commentator remark the *Scotticism* of that good old *English* word, which is sometimes used by Shakspeare, and Ben Johnson.

(*p*) Ib. 75.

(*q*) Lord Stirling's Works.

It

It was not at Edinburgh alone, that *the Abbot of Unreason* practised his *rustick revelry*. At Aberdeen, a city, noted in every age for hilarity, they had in very early times, an Abbot of (*r*) *Bonne-Acorde*, who gratified the citizens with a play; a scriptural play, or *mystery* (*s*). About a century after the acting of the *mystery* of *the Haliblude* on the *Wyndmyllhill*, at Aberdeen, Sir David Lyndsay exhibited his *moralities* upon the Castlehill, near Cowpar-in-Fife. The sarcasm of the satirist

(*r*) “ 1445 April the 30th: The council and many of the gild-brethren for letting and *stanching* of divers enormities done in time bygone by the *abbots* of the *burgh* called of *bone acorde* [propofed] that in time coming they will giue no fees to no fuch abbots; and for this instant year they will haue no fuch abbot, but that the alderman for the time and any baillie he chufes to take with (join til) him to fupply that faute (want).” [MS. extracts from the city records of Aberdeen.] The Abbot of *Bonne Acorde* was, however, fo agreeable to the people, that he continued long after to gratify them yearly with public fports: And, the fees, which were objected to, in 1445, were afterwards fetled at *ten merks*, a year. [City records, 7th Auguft 1486.]

(*s*) On the 22d of October 1445, Thomas Lawfon was received, as a burgef of Aberdeen, a privilege, which was lately granted him, when he was abbot of *bonne acorde*, for his expences laid out by him in a certain play [ludo] *de ly haliblude apud ly Wyndmyll hill*. [MS. extracts from the city records, which were written, in thofe times, partly in low Latin, and partly in Norman French.]

was

was chiefly levelled at the *prelats*, the *monks*, and the *nuns*, who were exhibited, as extremely worthless: But, what must have been the coarseness of the barons, the dames, and the monarch, who could hear such ribaldry, without indignation, and see such obsceneness, without a blush (*t*).

A reformation was, however, at hand, which is said to have been brought forward, full as much by *the moralities* of Lindsay, as by *the sermons* of Knox. The Church of Scotland, as it adopted its fundamental principles, from the religious practices of Geneva, at the same time assumed its enmity to dramatic exhibitions. It is, nevertheless, certain, that a company of players performed at Perth, in

(*t*) It appears from Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 300, as Mr. Malone has indeed remarked, that when the marriage of James the ivth with Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry the viith, was celebrated at Edinburgh, in 1503, "after dynnar a *moralitie* was played by the said Master Inglishe and hys companyons, in the presence of the King and Qwene, and then daunces were daunced." Yet, the historian of the stage seems not to have adverted, that Master Inglishe, and his companyons, with menstrells of musick, accompanied Margaret from Wyndfor-castle to Holyrood-house. [lb. 267-280-289.] I have, however, shown from the evidence of records, the existence of similar plays, in Scotland, upwards of half a century before that memorable epoch.

June 1589. In obedience, indeed, to the act of the assembly, which had been made, in (u) 1575, they applied to the consistory of the church, for a licence; shewing a copy of their play: And, they were, accordingly, permitted to act the play, on condition, however, “that no swearing, banning, nor any scurrility shall be spoken, which would be a scandal to religion, and an evil example to others (v).” Thus, it appears, that the church of Scotland adopted analogous mea-

(u) “By the General Assembly begun and halden at Edinburgh the 7th day of March 1574;

“It is thought meit and concludit yat na clerk playes, comedies or tragedies be maid of ye canonicall Scriptures allweil new as auld on Sabboth day nor wark day in time coming. The contravenars hereof (if they be ministers) to be secludit fra y^r function and if they be utheris to be punishit be ye discipline of ye kirk; and ordains an article to be given in to sick as fitts upon ye policie yat for uther playes comedies tragedies and utheris profaine playes as are not maid upon authentick pairtes of ye Scriptures, may be considerit before they be exponit publiclie and yat they be not played upon ye Sabboth dayes.” [From the MS. “Buik of the Universal Kirk of Scotland quhairin ye heides and conclusiones devysit be the ministers and commissioners of the particular kirks thair of are specially expressit and containit.”]

(v) An Account of Perth, 1796, p. 40, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, who quotes the old records for the facts.

fures to the judicious regulations of the wise ministers of England, at the same epoch; by allowing *the use*, but preventing *the abuse* of dramatic exhibitions. As a scholar, and a poet, King James admired the drama. And, *some English comedians* coming to Edinburgh, in 1599, he gave them a license to act, though he thereby offended the *ecclesiastics*, who wanted not such provocation to disturb his government (w).

(w) Archbishop Spottiswood gives the following account of that transaction: "In the end of the year [1599] happened some
 " new jars betwixt the King and the ministers of Edinburgh;
 " because of a company of English comedians, whom the
 " King had licensed to play within the burgh. The minis-
 " ters being offended with the liberty given them, did ex-
 " claim in their sermons against stage-players, their unruli-
 " ness and immodest behaviour; and in their sessions made
 " an act, *prohibiting people to resort unto their plays, under pain*
 " *of the church censures.* The King, taking this to be a
 " discharge of his license, called the sessions before the coun-
 " cil, and ordained them to annul their act, and not to re-
 " strain the people from going to these comedies: Which
 " they promised, and accordingly performed; whereof pub-
 " lication was made the day after, and all that pleased per-
 " mitted to repair unto the same, to the great offence of the
 " ministers." [History of the Church of Scotland, p. 457.]
 In this account, there seem to be implied two points; that King James did not send for the English comedians; and that there was not any company of Scottish comedians, in Scotland, during his reign.

Yet,

Yet, plays and players may be considered, as *sightless substances*; in Scotland, during that age. Nor, has diligence been able to show in the Scottish literature, any thing like a comedie, historie, or tragedie; from the revival of learning, to the accession of King James. The *scurrilities* of Lyndsay can no more be considered as legitimate dramas, than the *scurril jests* of Skelton, “a sharpe satirist, indeed,” says Puttenham, “but with more rayling and “scoffery than became a poet laureat (x).” *Philotus*, which, when originally printed; in 1603, was entitled; “Ane verie excellent, and “delectabill *Treatise*,” was called a *comedie*, when it was republished, in 1612: The marriage of *Philotus*, as we see it, in this rhapsodical *colloquy*, can scarce be called a *wedding mannerly modest*: Nor, ought we to be surpris'd; that the church of Scotland preferred a *sad funeral feast* to the coarse, and immodest dialogues, which were presented on the *playfield* to an unenlightened people. But, Lord Stirling was now *weaving warp, and weaving woof*, the *winding-sheet* of obscene plays: And, the *monarchicke tragedies*, which must be allowed to have sentiments that sparkle, though no words

(x) The Arte of English Poesie, 1589, p. 50.

that burn, were entitled to the honour of James's acceptance, and to the higher honour of Shakspeare's adoption.

The historian of the English stage has aptly divided his subject into *three* periods: The *first*, from the origin of dramatic entertainments, to the appearance of Shakspeare's dramas; the *second*, during the illumination of the scene, by the sun of Shakspeare; and the *third*, from the time, that this great luminary ceased to give light, and heat, and animation to the theatric world. Of the first of those periods, much has already been said; of the second, something remains to be added; and of the last, little need be remarked: It has been my constant endeavour, as it will be my subsequent practice, to add the new to the old, rather than to make the old seem new.

The demise of Elizabeth gave a different order to the several parts of our theatrical arrangements. King James is said "to have patronized the stage with as much warmth, as his predecessor:" But, after all the inquiries, which have been hitherto made, it has remained unknown, that a kind of theatric revolution took place, on the arrival of James from Scotland. While he was bestowing grace on every rank, he showed particular fa-
 your

your to *the actors* (y): He accepted the Lord Chamberlain's servants, as his own; the Queen retained the Earl of Worcester's servants, as her's; and Prince Henry took the Earl of Nottingham's players, for his dramatic servants. King James arrived, at the Charterhouse, London, on the 7th of May 1603; which may be deemed the epoch of that revolution. On the 19th of May he granted the *license*, which was first published by Rymer, in 1705, to his *servants*, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbadge, Augustine Phillipps, John Hemings, Henrie Condel, William Slye, Robert Armin; and their associates, "freely to exercise the faculty of
 " playing comedies, tragedies, histories, in-
 " terludes, morals, pastorals, stage plaies, as

(y) There is the following passage in Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*, which was printed by R. B. [Robert Barker] in 1604, sign. B:—"Nay; see the bounty of our
 " all kind soveraigne; not only to the indifferent of worth,
 " and the worthy of honour, did He freely deal about these
 " causes: But, to the mean gave grace; as taking to him-
 " self the late Lord Chamberlain's servants, now the King's
 " *acters*; the Queen, taking to her the Earl of *Worster's*
 " servants, that are now her *acters*; and the Prince, their
 " *sonne* Henry, Prince of Wales, full of hope, took to him
 " the Earl of Nottingham his servants, who are now his *ac-*
 " *ters*; so that of Lord's servants, they are now the servants
 " of the King, Queen, and Prince."

“ well within their *now usual* house, called
 “ the *Globe*, as within any convenient places,
 “ in any city, and universitie, within his
 “ kingdoms, and dominions.” Ample, and
 favourable, as this license was to *those ser-*
vants, it did not give them any exclusive pri-
 vilege, which could prevent the actors of the
 Queen, or the servants of the Prince, from
 acting similar plays, within his realms; though
 they were thus distinguished by the royal li-
 cense. Of such players, who were still more
 distinguished, as the original actors of Shak-
 speare’s characters, it may gratify curiosity, to
 know a little more of the life, and end.

— LAURENCE FLETCHER. —

Of this personage, who now appeared, at
 the head of the King’s servants, in the royal
 license of 1603, Mr. Malone, the historian of
 our stage, has said nothing. Fletcher was,
 probably, of St. Saviour’s Southwark, where
 several families of the name of Fletcher
 dwelt, as appears from the parish register.
 He was placed before Shakspeare, and Richard
 Burbadge, in King James’s license, as much
 perhaps by accident, as by design. Augus-
 tine Phillips, when he made his will, in May
 1605, bequeathed to *his fellow*, Laurence
 Fletcher,

Fletcher, twenty shillings. And, *this fellow* of Phillips, and of Shakspeare, was buried in St. Saviour's church, on the 12th of September 1608. (z). It does not appear, that he ever published any work, either in prose, or verse.

— WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE. —

The great outlines of the life of this illustrious dramatist are sufficiently known. He was born on the 23d of April 1564; and died, where he was born, on the 23d of April 1616. Early in life, before he could have acquired any profession, he became a husband, and a father. Whether he ever removed his family to London is uncertain (a).

At (z) The parish-register records that event in the following manner: "1608, September 12th [was buried] Laurence Fletcher, a *man*, in the church." I could not find, in the prerogative-office, either a will of the deceased, or any administration to his estate.

(a) Aubrey has preserved a tradition, which is extremely probable, that Shakspeare used to travel, once a year, from Stratford to London, and from London to Stratford: If this tradition be admitted, as a fact, it would prove, with strong conviction, that he had his family at Stratford, and his business in London. If documents be produced to prove, that *one* Shakspeare, a player, resided in St. Saviour's parish, Southwark, at the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth, century, this evidence will not be conclusive

At what time he first visited London is still more uncertain. He certainly rose to excellence, as a player, before the year 1591: And, he began to produce those dramas, which have eternized his name, about the year 1591. He was celebrated, as a poet, in 1594: He became greatly distinguished, as a dramatist, before the demise of Elizabeth. He was adopted as one of the theatrical servants of King James: And he was placed the second, in the list of those players, who were specified in the royal license of 1603. In

proof of the settled residence of Shakspeare: For, it is a fact, as new, as it is curious, that his brother Edmond, who was baptized on the 3d of May 1580, became a *player at the Globe*; lived in St. Saviour's; and was buried in *the church* of that parish: the entry in the register being without a blur; "1607 December 31, [was buried] *Edmond Shakspeare, a player, in the church;*" there can be no dispute about the date, or the name, or the *profession*. It is remarkable, that the parish clerk, who scarcely ever mentions any other distinction of the deceased, than a *man*, or a *woman*, should, by I know not what inspiration, have recorded Edmond Shakspeare, as a *player*. There were, consequently, two Shakspeares, on the stage, during the same period; as there were two Burbages, who were also brothers, and who acted on the same theatre. Mr. Malone has, indeed, remarked, that the burial of Edmond Shakspeare does not appear in the parish-register of Stratford-upon-Avon. I have not been able to find any notice of Edmond Shakspeare, in the prerogative-office.

1605, Augustine Phillips, by his will, recollected Shakspeare, as *his fellow*, and bequeathed him “a thirty shilling piece in “gould,” as a tribute of affection. How long he acted is uncertain; although he continued to write for the stage till the year 1614, in which year, he is said to have produced *Twelfth-Night*, his thirty-fourth play. When he retired from the stage, he probably disposed of his property in the theatre; as there is no specific bequest of his share by the testament, which he made on the 25th of March 1616.

The *will* of Shakspeare has been often published, though not always, with sufficient accuracy. It is not easy to tell, who of all the admirers of our illustrious dramatist, first had the curiosity to look into his will. It is even a point of some difficulty to ascertain when, and by whom, the will of Shakspeare was first published. Mr. Malone, indeed, is studious to reprobate Theobald, for publishing it most blunderingly. It was not published by the player-editors, in 1623; nor by Rowe, in 1709; nor by Pope, in 1725, or 1728; nor by Theobald, in 1733, or 1740; and he died in 1742, if we may believe the *Biographia Dramatica*; nor was it published
by

by Hanmer, in 1744; nor by Warburton, in 1747: But, it was certainly published, with the original errors, in the *Biographia (b) Britannica*, 1763, for the first time, I believe. Why, then, does Mr. Malone accuse Theobald, who was dead before the event, of that publication; and of those errors (c)? The fact will be the accuser's best apology: He did not look into the two first editions of Theobald, which were published during his

(b) Volume the *sixth*; part i.

(c) Shak. vol. i. pp. 187—190—191. Mr. Malone says, “that the name at the top of the margin of the first sheet was probably written by the scrivener who drew the will.” [Ib. 191.] The fact, however, is, that this name was written by the *entering clerk*, in the prerogative-office, at the time; as the clerks of the present day assured me; pointing at the *Te [testamentum]* which is prefixed to the name; and showing the similarity of the hand-writing to the writing of the *probat*. It is true, as Mr. Malone says, that the name of Shakspeare is subscribed on the margin of the first brief of the will; but, he ought to have added, what is plainly the fact, that the name is subscribed on the margin, at the bottom of the sheet, on the left hand corner; and was obviously there subscribed by the testator for want of room on the right hand corner of the sheet. There is no other ground for Mr. Malone's insinuation, that this signature was not made by Shakspeare, except that the three signatures to the will are very different in the manner, and spelling: But, all the genuine signatures of Shakspeare are dissimilar, [See before the plate, which faces p. 224.]

life,

life, for ascertaining the truth; but, had cast a heedless eye on a spurious edition of Theobald, that was printed, soon after 1763, with the will, which was obviously republished from the *Biographia* with all its errors, in respect to the gilt boxes, and the brown bed. The ghost of Theobald might cry out with the armourer, in Henry VI: “*Hang me, if ever*” “*I published the will: My accuser is my*” “*prentice; and when I did correct him for*” “*his fault, he did vow, he would be even*” “*with me.*”

— RICHARD BURBADGE. —

This celebrated comedian, who was, probably, born before the year 1570, in Holywell street, and who rose, by his talents, to the highest rank of his profession, was the son of James Burbadge, who died in February 1597, and may be regarded as one of the *elders* of the English stage: Yet, he lived to enjoy one of the greatest pleasures of a parent; to see his son at the head of his profession, and admired by the world. Richard Burbadge, probably, appeared on the stage, as soon as he could speak. In the year 1589, he represented *Gorboduc*, and *Tereus*, in *Tarleton's Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. In 1597, Richard Burbadge played the arduous character

character of Richard III, for the first time of its being performed. In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, which was probably written about the year 1602, he is introduced, in his proper person; instructing a Cambridge scholar how to act Richard III. He performed the most difficult parts in Shakspeare's dramas; and was "such an actor," says Sir Richard Baker, with an unprophetic spirit, "as no age must ever look to see the like." He was an eminent partner in the Globe, and Blackfriars, theatres; so that the actors, who performed there, were called *Burbadge's Company*. He was appointed by Augustine Phillips, in 1605, one of the overseers of his will. He continued to distinguish himself, and to amuse the lovers of the drama, till March 16¹⁸/₉, when he was carried off by the plague; leaving his wife Winifrid, pregnant with her seventh child, and executrix of his nuncupative will. An epitaph, which was written for him, though not inscribed on his tomb, has the following couplet:

This man hath now, (as many more can tell)
Ended his part; and he hath acted well (d).

— AUGUSTINE

(d) He was buried in the parish of St. Leonard's Shore-ditch, as the register has recorded, on the 16th of March

— AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS. —

Was placed next to Richard Burbadge, in the royal license, of 1603. He was an author, as well as an actor: And left behind him

16 $\frac{2}{9}$.—The same register hath entered the baptisms, and burials of his children, as follows; and the register, by recording the truth, shows the inaccuracy of Mr. Malone's statement. [Shakf. vol. i. part ii. p. 185.]

Names	Baptisms.	Burials.
1. Richard	16th August	1607
2. <i>Julia</i>	2d January 160 $\frac{2}{3}$	12th September 1608
3. Frances	16th September 1604	19th September 1604
4. Ann	8th August 1607	...
5. Winifryd	10th October 1613	14th October 1616
6. <i>Julya</i>	26th December 1614	15th August 1615
7. Sarah	5th August 1619	...

Sarah is entered in the register as "the daughter of Winifrid Burbadge, widow."—The name of *Julia* was the name given by the father, not *Juliet*: The name of *Juliet* was afterwards imposed by the parish clerk, when he recorded the burial of the first Julia, on the 12th of September 1608.—This fact proves, that Mr. Malone's observation, on this point, is groundless.

Richard Burbadge had a brother Cuthbert, who did not rise to his eminence, as a comedian, but was much respected as a man. He also lived in Holywell street; and was buried in the same parish, as appears by the register, on the 17th of October 1636: His wife, Elizabeth, was buried in the same cemetery, on the 1st of October 1636: And the grave-stone, which covered them, was removed, when the new church of St. Leonard's was built. They had three children: James, who was buried, in the same parish, on the 15th of July 1597; Walter, who was baptized, on the 22d of June

him some ludicrous rhimes, which were entered in the Stationers' books, in 1593, and were entitled, *The Jigg of the Slippers*. In Tarleton's *Platt of The Seven deadlie Sinns*, Phillips represented the effeminate *Sardana-palus*, in the year 1589. He is supposed to have represented characters in low life, with Kempe, and Armine, rather than royal personages, with Burbadge. Whatever he were, in the theatre, he certainly was a respectable man, in the world. He amassed considerable property by his prudence. And he died at Mortlake, in Surrey, in May 1605; and was buried, by his dying request, in the chancel of the church of that parish; leaving his wife, Ann, executrix of his will, with this proviso, however, that if she married again, John Hemynges, Richard Burbadge, William

1595; and Elizabeth, who was baptized, on the 30th of December 1601; as the same register records.—In the parish-register, this celebrated name is spelt three different ways; Burbidge, Burbadge, and Burbege; but, most frequently Burbadge: in the register of the prerogative-office, it is written Burbeige; so little uniformity was there, in those times, on this head; and so little foundation for criticism, on this point! In fact, the celebrated comedian subscribed his name *Richard Burbadg*, if we may determine from a single autograph, No. XIV, in plate ii. of Mr. Malone's Inquiry.

Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, should be his executors. His widow did marry again: and John Hemynges immediately proved the will, on the 16th of May 1607; and assumed the trust, which Augustine Phillips had reposed in him. As the will of Phillipps has escaped Mr. Malone's researches, and contains many curious particulars, I subjoin, in the note, a copy, which was extracted from the registry of the prerogative-court (*e*).

— JOHN

(*e*) AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS'S WILL.

In the Name of God Amen, the fourthe daie of May Anno Dm̄ 1605 and in the yeres of the Reigne of Our Sourigne Lorde James by the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the Faithe &c, that is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the thirde, and of Scotland the Eighte and thirtith, I Augustine Phillips of Mo'tlack in the County of Surrey Gent. beinge at this pte sick and weak in body, but of good and pfecte mynde and remembrance thanks be given unto Almighty God, do make ordeyne and dispose this my pte Testam^t & last Will in manⁿ and forme followinge, that is to say, Firste and principally I comende my Soule into th'ands of Allmighty God my Maker Savior and Redeemer in whome and by the meritts of the second p̄son Jesus Christ I truste and believe assuredly to be saved and to have full cleire remission and forgiveness of my sinnes, and I comitt my body to be buried in the chauncell of the pishe Church of Mo'telack aforesaid, and after my body buryed and Funerall charge paide, Then I will that all suche Debts and Duetyes as I owe to any person or persons of Righte or in Conscience shal be truely paide, And that
done

of March 1587, to Rebecca Knell, the widow,

as

them the Some of Tenne pounds a peece of lawful Money of England, to be paid unto them within three yeres after my decease, Item I geve and bequeathe to my Sister Elizabeth Goughe the Some of tenne pounds of lawfull Money of England to be paid her within One yere after my decease, Item I will and bequeathe unto Myles Borne and Phillipps Borne two Sounes of my Sister Margery Borne to eyther of them Tenne pounds a peece of lawfull Money of England to be paid unto them when they shall accomplishe the full age of Twenty and one yeres, Item I geve and bequeathe unto Tymothy Whithorne the Sum of Twentye pounds of lawfull Money of England to be paid unto him within one yere after my decease, Item I geve and bequeathe unto and amongste the hyred men of the Company w^{ch}. I am of, which shalbe at the tyme of my decease the Some of fyve pounds of lawfull Money of England to be equally distributed amongste them, Item I geve and bequeathe to my Fellowe Wilm Shakespeare a thirty shillings peece in Gould, To my Fellowe Henry Condell one other thirty shillinge peece in Gould, To my Servaunte Christopher Beeston Thirty shillings in Gould, To my Fellowe Lawrence Fletcher twenty shillings in Gould, To my Fellowe Robert Armyne twenty shillings in Gould To my fellowe Richard Coweley twenty shillings in Gould To my fellowe Alexander Cook twenty shillings in Gould, To my fellowe Nicholas Tooley twenty shillings in Gould, Item I geve to the Preacher w^{ch}. shall preache at my Funerall the Some of twenty shillings, Item I geve to Samuell Gilborne my late apprentice, the Some of Fortye shillings and my mouse colloured Velvit hose and a White Taffety Dublet a blacke taffety sute my purple Cloke Sword and Dagger and my Base Viall. Item I geve to James Sands my Apprentice the Some of Fortye shillings

as I conjecture, of William Knell, the comedian.

and a Citterne a Bandore and a Lute, to be paid and delivered unto him at the expiracon of his terme of yeres in his Indr. of Apprenticewood. Item my Will is that Elizabeth Phillips my youngest daughter shall have and quietlye enjoye for terme of her natural lyfe my House and Land in Mortelacke wch. I lately purchafed to me, Anne my wife, and to the said Elizabeth for terme of O^r. lives in full recompence and satisfaction of hir p^{te} and porcon w^{ch}. she may in any wise challenge or demand of in and to any of my Goods and Chattels whatsoever — And I ordaine and make the said Anne Phillips my loving Wyfe sole Executrix of this my p^{sent} Testament and last Will provided alwaies that if the said Anne my Wyfe do at any tyme marrye after my decease, That then and from thenceforth shee shall cease to be any more or longer Executrix of this my last Will or any waies intermeddle wth. the same, And the said Anne to haive no p^{te} or porcon of my Goods or Chattels to me or my Executors reserved or appointed by this my last Will and Testament, and that then and from thenceforth John Hemings Richard Burbage W^m Slye and Timothie Whithorne shall be fully and whollie my Executors of this my last Will and Testament, as though the said Anne had never bin named, And of the execution of this my present Testament and laste Will I ordayne and make the said John Hemings Richard Burbage W^m Slye and Timothie Whithorne Overseers of this my p^{sent} Testament and last Will and I bequeathe unto the said John Hemings Richard Burbage and W^m Slye to either of them my said Overseers for their paines herein to be taken a boule of Silver of the value of fyve pounds a piece. In Witness whereof to this my p^{sent} Testament and laste Will I the said Augustine Phillips

dian (*f*). As early as November 1597, he appears to have been the manager of the Lord Chamberlain's company (*g*). This station, for which he was qualified by his prudence, he held, probably, during forty years. There is reason to believe, that he was, originally, a *Warwickshire lad*; a shire, which has produced so many players and poets; the Burbages; the Shakspeares;

lipes have put my hand and Seale the day and yeare above written—

A: Phillips (LS)

Sealed and dd by the said Augustine Phillipps as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us Robert Goffe, W_m Sheperd.—[This will was proved, on the 13th of May 1605, by Anne, the relict, and executrix; and on the 16th of May 1607, by John Hemynges, under the condition mentioned in the will, by reason of the marriage of Anne, the widow, and executrix, before mentioned.—This will is written on two briefs, in two different hand writings: but the last brief only is signed by the testator.]

(*f*) The register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, which records this marriage, also records the marriage of William Knell with *Rebecca* Edwards, on the 30th of January 158½. William Knell did not long survive the celebration of this marriage, though the register does not record his burial: But, it does record the burial of a William Knell, on the 24th of September 1578, who was, probably, the celebrated actor; and the second William Knell, who married young *Rebecca* Edwards, may, possibly, have been his son, and also a player.

(*g*) The council-register of that date.

the Greens; and the Harts. Of Heminges's cast of characters, little is known: There is only a tradition, that he performed the arduous part of Falstaff. If this were true, it would prove, what indeed is apparent in his life, that he was a man of strong sense, and circumspect humour. He was adopted, with Shakspeare, by King James, on his accession, as one of his theatrical servants; and was ranked the *fifth*, in the royal license of 1603. He seems, indeed, to have been too busy, or too wise, during a long life, to write for the public; though he left a son, with much less wisdom and more time, who did write. It is a strong recommendation of his character, for discretion, and honesty, that he was called upon, by many friends, to perform the trust of their executor. He had the honour to be remembered in Shakspeare's will, and to be the first editor of Shakspeare's dramas. He lost his wife, who had brought him thirteen children, in 1619 (*b*). He himself died, at the age of seventy-five, in the parish of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, where he had lived respectably, through life; and was buried, as the parish register proves, on the 12th of October 1630.

(*b*) She was buried, as the register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, records, on the 2d of September 1619.

He left his son William, the executor of an unexecuted (i) will; and much property, and

(i) The will is published in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part. ii. p. 191; and in Steevens's Shak. 1793; vol. ii. p. 335.— William Hemings was baptized on the 3d of October 1602; and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1628; and in March 1633 he produced a comedy entitled *The Courting of the Hare*, or *The Madcap*; and afterwards wrote *The Fatal Contract*, and *The Jews Tragedy*.

The following table, which was formed from the parish register, will show more accurately than has yet been done, the births, and burials, of John Heminges's children; and will also correct the inaccuracies of Mr. Malone, both in the dates, and persons: He speaks of two daughters, whom the register does not record; Margaret, who is not mentioned by the register; and *Beatrice*, whom, I suspect, he has confounded with *Beavis*, a son, who was baptized, in 1601:—

Names.	Baptisms.	Burials.
1 Ales [who married John Atkins 11 February 16 $\frac{12}{13}$].	1st November 1590	
2 Mary - - -	7th May - 1592	9 August 1592
3 Judith - - -	29th August 1593	
4 Thomasyn - -	15th January 1594	
5 Jone - - -	2d May - 1596	
6 John - - -	2d April - 1598	17 June 1598
7 John - - -	12th August 1599	
8 Beavis (a son)	24th May 1601	
9 William - - -	3d October 1602	
10 George - - -	12th February 1603	
11 Rebecca - -	4th February 1603	
12 Elizabeth - -	6th March - 1603	
13 Mary - - -	21st June - 1611	23 July 1611

many kind tokens of remembrance to his relations, and *fellows*.

— HENRY CUNDALL. —

The origin of this honest man, rather than great actor, or celebrated writer, is unknown. He does not appear so prominent, on the page of theatrical history, as Heminges; though he had appeared in the theatrical world, before the year 1589: He represented *Ferrex*, in Tarleton's *Platt* of the *Seven Deadlie Sinns*. He formed one of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and was adopted, with Shakspeare and Heminges, by King James, as one of his theatrical servants: He was ranked the *sixth*, in the royal license of 1603. In 1605, Augustine Phillips bequeathed to him, as he did to Shakspeare, a *thirty shillings piece in gould*. In 1606, Cundal served the parish office of *sidef-man*, in St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Before the year 1623, he ceased to act; yet, retained his property in the playhouses. With Heminges he shared the honour of the recollection of Shakspeare, in his will, and of the editorship of Shakspeare's dramas. The country residence of Cundal, for some years before his death, was Fulham. He died, however, in St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, where he had lived

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ed long: And, here he was buried, on the 29th of December 1627. By his will he appointed his wife, Elizabeth, his executrix, and bequeathed much property, together with his shares in the Globe, and Blackfriars, theatres, to his children; besides many legacies of friendship, and charity (*k*).

— WILLIAM

(*k*) The will of Cundal is published in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 199: And in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. i. p. 344. John Heminges, and Cuthbert Burbadge, were two of the overseers of the will of Cundal.

The following table, like the last, which was formed from the parish-register, will show with more precision and accuracy than Mr. Malone has done, the births, and burials, of Henry Cundall's children; and will also correct the *inaccuracies* of Mr. Malone, both in the *dates* and persons:—

Names.	Baptisims.	Burials.
1 Elizabeth - -	27 February 159 $\frac{8}{9}$	11 April - 1599
2 Ann - - - -	4 April - 1601	26 July - 1610
3 Richard - - -	18 April - 1602	
4 Elizabeth - -	14 April - 1606	22 April - 1603
5 Elizabeth - -	26 October 1603	
6 Mary - - - -	31 January 160 $\frac{7}{8}$	
7 Henry - - - -	6 May - 1610	4 March - 1629
8 William - - -	26 May - 1611	
9 Edward - - -	22 August 1614	23 August 1614

From the register, it thus appears, that Henry, and Elizabeth, Cundall, had *nine* children, instead of *eight*, as stated by Mr. Malone; that their son, Henry, was born in 1610, instead of 1600; and that *five* children survived MR. Cundall, as he is distinguished in the register, instead of *three*, as mentioned by Mr. Malone.—Candour cannot delight to detect these de-

— WILLIAM SLY. —
 Of this player much less is known than of Cundal. Before the year 1589, Sly was an actor; having in that year represented *Porrex*, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinnes*. He was one of the Lord Chamberlain's company; and, being adopted by King James into his theatrical company, was placed the *seventh* in the royal license, among the royal players, in 1603. Sly was, in 1604, introduced personally with Burbadge, Cundal, and Lowin, in Marston's *Malecontent*, to act an introductory prologue; which, by fatirizing, illustrates the manners of the age (1). He died, says

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 —
 deficiencies in the diligence of Mr. Malone: And charity would have rather concealed those defects, if criticism did not require a strict attention to the interests of truth. — The dull-est pen may copy extracts from a parish register; but if required the pen of Mr. Malone, to write notes on Shakspeare! Nevertheless, it must be recollected, that one of his accusations against the believers is, “that they cannot read old “hand-writing:” Now, their apology is, that they can read such writing, so well, as to have been able to correct many of the mistakes, which he has fallen into, for want of their *spectacles*.

(1) Enter William Sly; and a Tire-man; following with a stool:—

“Tire-man:—Sir, the gentlemen will be angry, if you fit here.

“Sly:—“Why; we may fit upon the stage, at the private

the historian of the stage, before the year 1612 (*m*). In May 1605, Sly was appointed by Augustine Phillips, one of the overseers of his will. He was himself obliged to make a nuncupative will, on the 4th of August 1608, which was proved on the 24th: He thereby bequeathed “ To Jane Browne, the daughter
“ of Robert Browne, and Sifely, his wife, the
“ house, where he now dwelles to her &c for
“ ever; to Robert Brown his part of *The Globe*;
“ to James Saunder fortie pounds; the rest

“ vate house. Thou dos't not take me for a *coun-*
“ *try gentleman*; dos't think, I fear hissing? I'll
“ hold my life, thou took'st me, for one of the
“ players.

“ Tireman:—“ No; Sir.

“ Sly:—“ By God's-flid, if you had, I would not have
“ given you *six pence* for your stool. Let them,
“ that have *stale suits*, sit in the galleries. His at
“ me! He that will be laught out of a tavern,
“ shall seldom feed well, or be drunk, in good
“ company. Where's Harry Condell, Dick
“ Burbage, and William Sly? Let me speak
“ with some of them.”

Sly goes on to swear most irreverently. True, indeed, as Colley Cibber would have apologized; Lowin reproves him; and carries him off the stage: But, the statute 3. James i. ch. 21. prevented such apologies, by imposing proper penalties, on all, who should profanely use the name of God, in any play.

(*m*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 205.

“ to Sifely Browne; making her his execu-
 “ trix (n).” By a codicil, Sly bequeathed his
 sword, and hat, to Cuthbert(o) Burbaige, and
 forty shillings to the poor of St. Leonard’s,
 Shoreditch. Sly lived in Holywell-street, among
 the other players, and greater personages, who
 then resided in that quarter, before it became
 the more frequent resort of meaner men.
 And, he was buried, in the cemetery of St.
 Leonard’s Shoreditch, as appears by the regis-
 ter, on the 16th of August 1608. William
 Sly, the next of kin, disputed his will, which

(n) Brown, and Saunder, were both players, though they
 never rose to much distinction. Saunder played *Videna*, the
 queen, in *The Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*, and is
 confounded with Alexander [Saunders] Cooke, by Mr.
 Malone, who thus appears not to have known, that *Saunder*
 was a real actor, and a distinct person.

(o) It was not so much the *hat*, as the *feather*, which
 constituted the value of this legacy; feathers being then
 much worn, and in great request. Marston, in *The Male-*
content, ridiculed the fashion. When Sly is on the stage,
 acting the prologue to the *Malecontent*, he puts his *feather*
 in his pocket. Burbadge asks him: “ Why do you conceal
 “ your *feather*, Sir? Sly answers him: Why! Do you
 “ think I’ll have jests broken upon me, in the play, to be
 “ laughed at? This play hath beaten all young gallants
 “ out of the *feathers*. Blackfriars hath almost spoilt Black-
 “ friars for *feathers*.” — It is to be remarked, that the
 Blackfriars district was remarkable, in those days, for being
 inhabited by feather-makers.

bears

bears a very suspicious (*p*) appearance; but, was nevertheless established by the prerogative court, though the testator, when he made it, was plainly in the hands of designing persons. The legacy to Cuthbert Burbaige, who was a respectable character, and the bequest to the poor of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, were mere artifices to cover the odious design of imposing upon weakness (*q*).

— ROBERT ARMIN. —

My researches have not enabled me to add much to the little, which is already known, with regard

“ To honest gamefome Robert Armin,

“ Who tickl'd the spleen, like a harmless vermin.”

He was certainly one of the Lord Chamberlain's players, at the accession of King James, and was received, with greater actors, into the royal company. He was ranked the *eighth*, after Sly, in the King's license of 1603. As a *fellow*, Armin was affectionately remembered by Augustine Phillips, in 1605; who left

(*p*) It was executed in the presence of several women, who could not sign their names, as witnesses.

(*q*) John, the bastard son of William Sly, the player, was buried in the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 4th of October 1606, as appears by the register; which states, that John was *base*, and the son of the *player*.

him

him a legacy of twenty shillings. Armin was an author, as well as an actor: He produced, in 1608, *A Nest of Ninnies simply of themselves, without Compound*; in the same year, *Phantasm the Italian Taylox and his boy*; and, in 1609, a comedy called *The two Maids of Moreclacke*, [Mortlake] whether with any allusion to the family of Augustine Phillips, his fellow, I know not. He was not buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark, as we may infer from the silence of the register: Nor, have I been able to discover any will of Armin, or administration to his effects.

— RICHARD COWLEY —

Is said to have been an actor of a low class; having performed the part of *Verges* in *Much ado about Nothing*: He probably acted such parts, as *gamefome* Armin; such characters, as required dry humour, rather than splendid declamation. In 1589, he represented the character of *Giraldus* in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. He was, however, adopted, from the Lord Chamberlain's company, by King James into his, and was ranked the last, in the royal license of 1603. He was recognized as *a fellow* by Augustine Phillips, in 1605, and distinguished as a friend,

by

by a legacy of twenty shillings. He lived among the other players, and among the fashionable persons of that period, in Holywell-street. "I know not when this actor died," says Mr. Malone, the historian of the stage (r). He was buried, says the register of the parish, in St. Leonard's Shoreditch, on the 13th of March (s) 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, three days before the great Burbadge finished his career, in the same cemetery. But, my searches in the prerogative-office have not found either his will, or an administration to his estate.

Such were the nine patentees, who were named in King James's license of 1603; and who were, thereby, empowered to show their stage plays, to their *best commoditie*. The royal license, however, was not only granted to the *nine*, who were specified; but, also "to the

(r) Shakf. vol. i. part ii. p. 205.

(s) The register calls him Richard Cowley, *player*. His wife Elizabeth was buried, in the same cemetery, on the 28th of September 1616. By her he had a son, Robert, who was baptized on the 7th of March 159 $\frac{1}{2}$; a son, Cuthbert, on the 8th of May 1597; a son, Richard, on the 29th of April 1599, who was buried on the 26th of February 160 $\frac{1}{2}$; and a daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized, on the 2d of February 160 $\frac{1}{2}$.

“ rest of their *associates*, freely to exercise the
“ faculty of playing (*t*).”

— ALEXANDER COOKE. —

It appears that this actor was the *heroine* of the stage, even before the year 1589. He acted as a woman in Johnson's *Sejanus* and in *The Fox*: And, it is thence reasonably sup-

(*t*) One of those associates, probably, and one of the actors of Shakspeare's characters was Richard Scarlet, player, who was buried, says the register, in St. Giles's Cripplegate, on the 23d of April 1609: Yet, he is not mentioned by the historian of our stage. Another of those associates was Samuel Gilburne, who is *unknown*, says Mr. Malone. [Shakf. vol. i. part ii. p. 210]. But, we now know that, before May 1605, Samuel Gilburne, had served his apprenticeship, as a player, with Augustine Phillips, who bequeathed him “ fortye shillings, and my mouse-coloured velvit hose, and “ a white taffety dublet, a black taffety fute, my purple “ cloke, sword and dagger, and my base violl:” And, here-in, we may see the dress, and accompaniments, of Augustine Phillips. Christopher Beeston was also an actor at *The Globe*, and the representative of some of Shakspeare's characters. He was the *servant* of Augustine Phillips, in May 1605, and was deemed worthy of a legacy of thirty shillings in gould. He became manager of the Cockpit theatre, in Drury-lane, in the year 1624, and continued in that station till his death, in 1638-9. I have not found his will in the prerogative-office, nor any administration to his estate. He was succeeded, as manager of the King and Queen's company in Drury-lane, on the 27th of June 1640, by William D'Avenant, gentleman.

posed, that Cooke represented the lighter females of Shakspeare's dramas. Thus far Mr. Malone. Alexander Cooke was recollected, in 1605, as a fellow by Augustine Phillips, and distinguished as an intimate, by a legacy. He outlived Phillips nine years. On the 3d of January 16 $\frac{1}{4}$, he wrote his will, with his own hand, though he was "sick of body;" appointing his wife his (*u*) executrix, and Heminges, and Cundal, and Caper, his overseers of it: He died, in April 1614; leaving his wife, pregnant; and a son, Francis; and a daughter, Rebecca. I subjoin, in the note, a copy of his will; for it contains some curious particulars (*v*).

— NICHOLAS

(*u*) The name of his wife is neither mentioned in his will, nor in the probat of it; when she was authorized, by the prerogative-court, to act as executrix.

(*v*) The WILL of ALEXANDER COOKE, extracted from the register of the prerogative-court of Canterbury: It is now printed, as he pointed it himself:

In the Name of the Father the Sonne, and the holy Ghoste
 I Alexander Cooke, sick of body but in perfect minde, doe
 with mine owne hand write my last Will and Testament
 First I bequeathe my Soule into y^e. hands of God my deer
 Saviour Jesus Christ who bought it and payd for it deerly
 wth. his bloud on y^e. crosse next my body to y^e. Earthe to be
 buried after the maⁿer of Christian buryall Item I do give
 and bequeath' unto my Sonne Francis the Some of Fifty
 pounds

— NICHOLAS TOOLEY —

Was also another of the unnamed *associates* of Shakspeare, Burbadge, and Hemings, at *The Globe*; and was one of the original actors of Shakspeare's characters: He too represented women, as early as 1589, and acted *Rodope* in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*: He performed in *The Alchemist*, in the year
1610.

pounds to be delivered to him at the Age of One an twenty yeeres Item I doe Give and bequeathe unto my Daughter Rebecca the Some of Fiftye pounds allso to be delivered to hir at the Age of Seaventeene years or at hir day of Mariage, which it shall please God to bring firste, which Somes of Money are bothe in One purse in my Cuberd Item I doe Give and Bequeathe unto the Childe which my Wife now goeth with, the Some of Fiftye pounds allso, which is in the hand of my fellowes as my share of the stock to be delivered if it be a boy, at one and twenty yeres, if a Girle, at Seaventeene, or day of Maryage, as before all whiche Somes of Moneyes, I doe intreate my Master Hemings, M^r Cundell, and M^r Frances Caper (for God's cause) to take into their hands; and see it fastlye put into Grocers Hall, for the use and bringinge up of my poore Orphants Item I doe further give and bequeathe unto my Daughter Rebecca the Windowe cushens made of needle worke together withe y^e. Window cloathe Court Cuboard Cloathe; and Chimineye Cloathe, being all bordered about with needle worke sutable, and Greene filke fringe If any of my children, dye ere they come to age, my will is y^e. the Survivers shall have there parte, equallye divided to y^e. last If all my
Children

1610. Thus much from Mr. Malone. Tooley I suspect, from some expressions in his will, had been the apprentice, or the servant, of Richard Burbadge (*w*). Tooley was remembered by Augustine Phillips, as a fellow, and distinguished, by a legacy. He played his part, as a witness, in the last scene of Richard Burbadge's life, when *the Roscius* of that age

Children dye ere they come to age, my will is that my Brother Ellis or his Children shall have One halfe of all, the other halfe to be thus divided, to my five sisters, or their Children tenn pounds apeece amongst them, my Brother John's daughter other tenn pounds, y^e. rest to my Wife if she live then, if not to Ellis and his, If my brother Ellis dye ere this, and leave no Childe of his body, my will is, it shall all be equally distributed amongst my Sisters and the Children of there bodys, only my Wive's parte reserved if she live: My Wife paying all charges of my buriall performing my Will in every poynte as I have set downe my will is she shall enjoy and be my full and lawfull Executrix All my Goods, Chattels, Movables debbts, or whatsoever is mine in all the worlde /// This is my last Will and Testament / In Witness whereof I have set to my hand January the third 1613: By me Alex: Cooke:

[This will was proved on the 4th of May 1614, by the relict, whose name, however, is not mentioned in the probat.]

(*w*) Tooley bequeathed legacies to the sister, and daughter, of "my late *Mr.* [Master] Burbadge, deceased:" And he repeated this form of expression, which shows a grateful remembrance of his *old master*.

made his will, on the 12th of March 16¹⁸₁₉. Tooley made his own will, on the 3d of June 1623; appointing Cuthbert Burbadge, and Henry Cundal, his executors. He died, soon after, in the house of Cuthbert Burbadge, in Holywell-street; to whose wife, Elizabeth, the testator left a legacy of ten pounds "as a
 " remembrance of his love, in respect of her
 " motherly care of him." Tooley appears, plainly, to have been a benevolent man. While he bustled in the world, he did many kind acts: And, when he could no longer act, he left considerable legacies to the poor of the two parishes of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, and of St. Giles's Cripplegate, which, administer to the comfort of the needy, even to the present day. He was buried, as the parish register proves, on the 5th of June 1623, in St. Giles's, Cripplegate (*).

— WILLIAM

(*) NICHOLAS TOOLEY'S WILL, extracted from the registry of the prerogative court of Canterbury: As it contains some unknown particulars of players, it may be regarded as curious:—In the Name of God Amen I Nicholas Tooley of London Gentleman being sicke in body but of perfect mynd and memorie praised be God therefore doe make and declare this my last Will and Testament in forme following that is to say First I comend my Soule into the hands of Almighty God the Father trusting and assuredlie beleaving

— WILLIAM KEMPE. —

This player, who danced through life on *light fantastick toe*, is neither mentioned in the
licenſe

beleeving that by the meritts of the precious death and paſſion of his only Sonne and my only Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt I ſhall obtaine full and free p̄don and forgiveness of all my Sinnes and ſhall enjoy everlaſting life in the Kingdom of Heaven amongſt the elect Children of God My Bodie I committ to the Earth from whence y^r came to be buried in decent manner at the diſcrecon of my Executors hereunder named My Worldlie ſubſtance I doe diſpoſe of as followeth Impris I give unto my good friend Mr. Thomas Adams preacher of God's Word whome I doe entreate to preach my funerall Sermon the Some of tenn pounds Item I doe releaſe and forgive unto my kinfwoman Mary Cobb of London widdowe the Some of Fyve pounds w^{ch} ſhe oweth me and I do give unto her the Some of fyve pounds more Item I do releaſe and forgive unto her Sonne Peter Cobb the Some of Sixe pounds w^{ch} he oweth me Item I doe give unto her Sonne John Cobb the Some of Sixe pounds Item I do give unto her daughter Margarett Mofeley the Some of Fyve pounds Item I doe give unto M^{rs}. Burbadge the Wife of my good friend Mr. Cutbert Burbadge (in whoſe houſe I doe nowe lodge) as a remembrance of my love in reſpect of her motherlic care over me the Some of tenn pounds over and beſides ſuch Somes of Money as I ſhall owe unto her att my deceaſe Item I do give unto her daughter Elizabeth Burbadge als Maxey the Some of tenn pounds To be payd unto her owne proper hands therewth all to buy her ſuch thinges as ſhe ſhall thinke moſt meete to weare in remembrance of me And my

license of 1603, by King James, as one of his servants, nor recognized by Augustine Phillips,

Will is that an acquittance under her only hand and Seal shal be a sufficient discharge in Lawe to my Executors for payment thereof to all intents purposes and construccions and as fully as if her pretended husband should make and seale the same wth her Item I give to Alice Walker the Sister of my late Mr. Burbadge deceased the Some of tenn pounds to be payd unto her owne proper hands therewth all to buy her such thinges as she shall thinke most meete to weare in remembrance of me And my will is that an acquittance under her only hand and Seale shal be a sufficient discharge in Lawe to my Executors for the payment thereof to all intents purposes and constructions and as fully as if her husband should make and seale the same wth her Item I give unto Sara Burbadge the daughter of my said late Mr. Richard Burbadge deceased that Some of twenty and nyne pounds and thirteen shillings w^{ch} is oweing unto me by Richard Robinson to be recoued detayned and disposed of by my Executors hereunder named until her marriage or age of twenty and one years (w^{ch} shall first and next happen) wthout any allowaunce to be made of use otherwise then as they in their discrecons shall think meete to allow unto her Item I give unto Mrs. Condell the wife of my good friend Mr. Henry Condell as a remembrance of my love the Sum of fyve pounds Item I give unto Elizabeth Condell the daughter of the said Henry Condell the Some of tenn pounds Item whereas I stand bound for Joseph Tayler as his surety for payment of Tenn pounds or thereabouts My will is that my Executors shall out of my Estate pay that debt for him and discharge him out of that Bond Item I do release and forgive unto John Underwood and Willm Ecclestone all such Somes of Money as they do severally owe unto me Item I do give and bequeath for and towards the ppetuall reliefe of

lips, in 1605, as one of his fellows: Kempe is said to have been the successor of Tarleton, who

of the poore people of the parishe of S^t. Leonard in Shoreditch in the County of Midd under the Con^dicon hereunder expressed the Some of fourscore p^unds To remayne as a stocke in the same parish and to be from tyme to tyme employed by the advise of the parson Churchwardens Overseers for the poore and Vestrymen of the said prishe for the tyme being or the greater n^umber of them In such sort as that on everie Sunday after Morninge prayer forever there may out of the encrease w^{ch} shall arrise by the ymployment thereof be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same prishe Thirtie and two penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe provided allwaies and my will & mynd is that yf my said gift shalbe misemployed or neglected to be p^{er}formed in aine wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my Will Then & in such case I give and bequeath the same Legacie of Fourscore pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poore people of the prishe of S^t. Gyles wthout Cripplegate London to be imployed in that prishe in forme afore said Item I doe give and bequeath for and towards the p^{er}petuall reliefe of the poore people of the said prishe of S^t. Giles without Cripplegate London under the con^dicon hereunder expressed the Some of twenty pounds To remayne as a stocke in the same prishe and to be from tyme to tyme employed by the advise of the Churchwardens Overseers for the poore and Vestrymen of the same prishe for the tyme being or the greater n^umber of them in such sort as that on every Sunday after Morninge prayer forever there may be out of the encrease w^{ch} shall arrise by the ymployment thereof be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same prishe Eight penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe Provided allwaies and my will and mynd is that yf my said Gift shalbe misemployed or neglected to be p^{er}formed in anie wise con-

who was buried on the 3d of September 1588,
as well “ in the favour of her Majesty as in
“ the

trarie to the true meaning of this my Will Then and in such
case I give and bequeath the same legacie of twenty pounds
for and towards the reliefe of the poorer people of the said
parishe of St. Leonard in Shoreditch to be employed in that
parishe in forme aforesaid Item my will and mynd is and I doe
hereby devise & appoynt that all and singuler the legacies be-
queathed by this my will (for payment whereof no certaine
tyme is otherwise limited) shalbe truly payd by my Executors
hereunder named wthin the space of one year att the furthest
next after my decease All the rest and residue of all and sin-
gular my Goods Chattels Leases Money Debtes and psonall
Estate whatsoever and wheresoever (my debtes legacies and
Funerall charges discharged) I doe fully and wholly give &
bequeath unto my afore named loving friends Cuthbert Bur-
badge and Henry Condell to be equally dyvided betweene
them pte and pte like And I doe make name and constitute
the said Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the Execu-
tors of this my last Will and Testament And I doe hereby
revoke & make voyd all former Wills Testaments Codicills
Legacies Executors and bequests whatsoever by me att any
tyme heretofore made named given or appoynted willing and
mynding that theis p^rds only shall stand and be taken for my
last Will and Testament and none other In witness where-
of to this my last Will and Testament conteyninge foure
Sheets of paper wth my name subscribed to everie sheete I
have sett my Seale the third day of June 1623 And in the
one and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of or. Sovereigne Lord
King James &c Nicholas Tooley Signed Sealed pronounced
and declared by the said Nicolas Tooley the Testator as his
last Will and Testament on the day and yeares above written
in the p^rce of us the inke of Anne Asplijn the marke of Mary +
Cober,

“ the good thoughts of the general audience.”
His favour with both arose from his power of
pleasing.

Cober, the marke of Joane + Booth the m̄ke of Agnes Dowson the m̄ke of E B Elizabeth Bolton the m̄ke of + Faith Kempfall the m̄ke of Isabel Stanley Hum: Dyson notary public and of me Ro: Dickens Srvt. unto the said Notary Memorandum that I Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley of London Gentleman have on the day of the date of this prets by the name of Nicholas Tooley of London Gentleman made my last Will and Testament in writing conteyninge foure sheetes of paper with my name subscribed to every sheete and sealed with my Seale and thereby have given and bequeathed divers p̄sonall legacies to divers p̄sons and for divers uses and therefore have made named and constituted my lovinge friends Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the Executors as thereby may more at large appeare nowe for the explacon clearing avoyding & determinacon of all such ambiguities doubttes scruples questions and variances about the validite of my said last Will as may arise happen or be moved after my decease by reason of omission of my name of Wilkinson therein I doe therefore by this my prete Codicil by the name of Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley ratifie confirme and approve my said last Will and everie gifte legacye and bequest therein expressed and the Executors therein named as fully and amply to all intents purposes and construcons as If I had byn so named in my said last Will any omission of my said name of Wilkinson in my said last Will or any scruple doubt question variance misinterpretacon cavill or misconstrucon whatsoever to be had moved made or inferred thereupon or thereby or any other matter cause or thing whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding And I doe hereby alsoe further declare that my Will mynd and meaning is that this my prdte

pleasing. As early as 1589, his comic talents appear to have been highly estimated by those, who were proper judges, being wits themselves (y).— He usually represented *the clowns*, who are always *very rogues*; and, like Tarleton, gained celebrity, by his *extemporal wit*; whilst, like other clowns, Kempe raised many a *roar by making faces, and mouths, of all sorts* (z).

He

Codicil shalbe by all Judges Magistrates and other p̄sons in all Courts and other places and to all intents and purposes expounded construed deemed reputed and taken to be as p̄te and p̄cell of my said last Will and Testament As witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seal the thirde day of June 1623 and in the one and twentieth year of the Raigne of Or̄ Sovereigne Lord King James &c Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley (LS) Signed Sealed pronounced & declared by the said Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley as a Codicil to be annexed unto his last Will and Testament on the daye and yeares above written in the presence of us Seimon Drewe, the m̄ke of Isabell I S Stanley the m̄ke of + Faith Kempfull Hum: Dyson Notary public and of me Ro: Dickens Sr̄vant unto the said Notary.—[It was proved in the prerogative court, on the 17th of June, 1624, by Cuthbert Burbadge, and Henry Cundal.]

(y) The witty Nashe, speaks of Kempe, in 1589, as the comical and conceited jestmonger, and vicegerent general to the ghost of Dicke Tarleton. [*An Almond for a Parrot.*]

(z) In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, Kempe is introduced personally, and made to say:

“ I was

He probably performed LAUNCE, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in 1595; the GRAVEDIGGER, in *Hamlet*, in 1596; LANCELOT, in *The Merchant of Venice*, in 1598; and TOUCHSTONE, in *As you like it*, in 1600. He appears, from the quarto plays of Shakspeare, to have been the original performer of PETER, in *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1595; and of DOGBERRY, in *Much ado about nothing*, in 1600. In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, which is supposed to have been written about the year 1602, Burbadge, and KEMPE, were personally introduced, *to entertain the scholars at a low rate*. Kempe seems to have disappeared, at the accession of King James, when *his fellows* were rising to higher honours. Perhaps, as a *vete-*

—“I was once at a Comedy in Cambridge, and there I saw
 “ a parasite *make faces and mouths of all sorts*, on THIS FA-
 “ SHION.”—The Cambridge wit, we see considered Kemp, as
 a proper comedian to raise laughter by making mouths *on this
 fashion*. When Burbadge has instructed a student how to act
 properly, and tells him:—“You will do well after a while;”
 Kemp takes up the student thus: “Now for you; methinks
 “ you should belong to *my tuition*; and *your face*, methinks,
 “ would be good for a foolish mayor, or a *foolish justice of
 “ peace*: mark me.”—And then, Kempe goes on, to repre-
 sent a *foolish mayor*; making *faces*, for the instruction of the
 student.

ran,

ran, he had retired from "the loathed stage:" Perhaps, as a mortal, the pestilence of 1603 put an end to Kempe's *nine days wonder*. He was certainly dead, in 1618, when his *epitaph* was published:—

"Then, all thy triumphs, fraught with strains of mirth,
 " Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth;
 " Shall be! they are: thou hast danc'd thee out of breath,
 " And now must make thy parting dance with death (a)."

Before the year 1609, Kempe had vanished from the public eye; as we may infer from *The Gul's Hornbooke*; although not, that he was dead, as Mr. Malone decides from *Gul's* authority: For, Kempe may have only retired from the scene. When Augustine Phillips, with fond recollection, remembered so many of *his fellows*, in May 1605, he did not remember Kempe: Yet, at the same hour, Phillips forgot Lowen also, who outlived him more than fifty years.—Amidst so much uncertainty, I have ascertained an important fact, that on the 2d of November 1603, *one* William Kempe was buried, in the cemetery of St. Saviour's, Southwark (b). Considering every

(a) Braithwayte's Remains.

(b) The parish register merely states:—"1603, November 2d Wiliam Kempe, a man." [was buried.] The stupidity

every circumstance, the time, the place, the person, the name, the previous probability; I have little doubt, but that William Kempe, the vicegerent of Tarleton, was then *caged up within a chest of earth*. I have not found any will of Kempe, nor any administration to his effects, in the prerogative-office.

Kempe was an author, as well as an actor (c):

Yet,

pidity of the parish clerk has thus left a slight doubt, who *this man* was. There were buried in the same cemetery, on the 19th of December 1603, Mary Kempe, a *woman*; on the 13th of February 160 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cicelye Kempe, a *child*. There appears, however, in the parish register of St. Bartholomew, the Less, the marriage of William Kempe unto Annis Howard, on the 10th of February 160 $\frac{5}{8}$; but, without any further notice of this couple, or their issue. On the other hand, none of the parish clerks, within the bills of mortality, have found the burial of any other William Kempe, though I offered them a suitable reward, for a diligent search. On the whole, it seems to me more than probable, that William Kempe, the successor of Tarleton, was carried off the stage, by the plague of 1603. I have laughed, in a foregoing page, at the decision of dogmatism on the mere authority of *The Gul's Hornbook*, with regard to the true date of the death of Kempe, which it is so difficult to ascertain; and which, after the most active inquiries, cannot be positively fixed. It is unnecessary to add, that if the death of Kempe, in 1603, be admitted, as a fact, any document, which mentions him, as being alive, at a subsequent period, must be equally acknowledged to be spurious.

(c) On the 7th of September 1593, there was entered in the

Yet, he was as illiterate; probably, as he was, certainly, jocose. The Cambridge scholars laughed at his gross illiterature. In *The Return from Parnassus* Kempe is made to say to Burbadge: "Few of the university pen plays well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter!" *Philomusus* says sneeringly: "Indeed Master Kempe you are very famous: but, that is as well for works, in *print*, as *your part in cue.*" There was a sentiment then assigned to Kempe, which was known, perhaps, to be his real opinion, that, *it is better to make a fool of the world, as I have done, than like you scholars, to be fooled of the world.* The publication of *The Orchestra* of Davis, and *The Jigg* of Kempe, about the same time, fur-

the Stationers' books, A Comedie entitled "*A Knack how to know a Knave*, newly set forthe as it has been sundrie times plaid by Ned Allen and his company, with Kempe's applauded merriment of *The Men of Gotham.*"—Kempe's *New Jigg of The Kitchen-stuff woman* was entered in the Stationers' books, in 1595; and also "*Kempe's New Jigg betwixt a Souldier and a Miser and Sym the Clowne.*"—In 1600, there was published "*Kempe's Nine days wonder performed in a daunce from London to Norwich written by himselfe to satisfie his friends.*" In those days, the word *jigg* signified a *farce*, as well as a daunce.

nished

nished Marston the satirist, in 1599, with an opportunity of joining Davis, Kempe, and perhaps Shakspeare, in the same laugh against them:—

Prayse but *Orchestra*, and the *skipping art*,
 You shall commaund him; faith, you have his hart,
 Even cap'ring in your fist. *A ball, a ball;*
 Roome for the spheres, the orbes célestiall
 Will daunce *Kempe's Jigg*: They'le reuel with neate
 jumps;

A worthy poet hath put on their pumps (*d*).

Such were the patentees of King James; and such the associates, who were adopted, among the royal servants; and though they were not named in the license of 1603, yet were the original actors of Shakspeare's characters. We have seen, upon the accession of King James, *three* companies established, by collecting the discarded servants of the

(*d*) *The Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, sign^r H. 3. b. This is Sir John Davis, the attorney-general of Ireland, who wrote the two celebrated poems, *Nosce Teipsum*; and the *Orchestra*, in praise of dancing: I observe, that Mr. Malone sometimes confounds Sir John Davis, with Davis, the epigrammatist, who was a very different person. [Shak^s. vol. i. part ii. p. 63-66.] Sir John Davis is the first of our poets, who *reasoned in rhyme*; yet the palm of *logical* poetry has been assigned, by Johnson, to Dryden; though the laureate of James ii. can boast of nothing, which is comparable to the *Nosce Teipsum* of Davis, for *concatenation of argument*, and subtilty of thought.

several

several noblemen. At the epoch of Shakspeare's death, there were, probably, *five* companies of players in London: viz. The King's servants, who performed at *The Globe*, and in the Blackfriars; the Queen's servants, who acted at *The Red Bull*, and became afterwards distinguished as the Children of the Revels; the Prince's servants, who played at *The Curtaine*; the Palsgrave's servants, who exhibited at *The Fortune*; and the Lady Elizabeth's servants, who performed at the Cockpit, in Drury-lane. During the same period, there were seven regular playhouses, including three on the *Bankside*; the *Swan*; the *Rose*; and the *Hope*; which, however, were not much frequented, and, early in the reign of James, fell into disuse: Yet, one Rossiter obtained a patent, under the great seal, for erecting a playhouse, *without the liberties* of London; and by virtue thereof, proceeded to convert the house of Lady Sanclair, on Puddle-wharff, into a theatre. The Lord Mayor and aldermen were alarmed: They considered this measure, as an infringement of their jurisdiction; and feared the interruption of public worship, on *the week days*, from its nearness to a church. These considerations, upon complaint made to them, induced the privy-council to determine,

mine, that no playhouse should be erected in that place (e). But, it is always more easy to resolve,

(e) An order was issued to that effect, on the 26th of September 1615, in the following terms:—

“ Whereas complaint was made to this board by the
 “ Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, That
 “ one Rosseter and others having obtained license under the
 “ great seal of England for the building of a playhouse have
 “ pulled down a great messuage in Puddle-wharf which was
 “ sometimes the house of Lady Sanchers within the precinct
 “ of the Blackfryers, are now erecting a new play-house in
 “ that place, to the great prejudice and inconvenience of
 “ the government of that city. Their Lordships thought fit
 “ to send for Rosseter, to bring in his letters patents which
 “ being seen and perused by the Lord Chief Justice of Eng-
 “ land [Coke]. For as much as the inconveniences urged
 “ by the Lord Mayor and aldermen were many and of some
 “ consequence to their government, and specially for that
 “ the said playhouse would join so near unto the church in
 “ Blackfryers as it would disturb and interrupt the congrega-
 “ tion at divine service upon the week days. And that the Lord
 “ Chief Justice *did deliver* to their Lordships that the *license*
 “ *granted to the said Rosseter, did extend to the building of a*
 “ *playhouse WITHOUT the liberties of London, and not within*
 “ the city. It was this day ordered by their Lordships, that
 “ there shall be no playhouse erected in that place, and that
 “ the Lord Mayor of London shall straitly prohibit and for-
 “ bid the said Rosseter, and the rest of the patentees, and
 “ their workmen to proceed in the making and converting
 “ the said building into a playhouse: And if any of the pa-
 “ tentees or their workmen shall proceed in their intended
 “ building contrary to this their Lordships inhibition, that then
 “ the

resolve, than to execute. Roffeter seems not to have been terrified by the threats of commitment. Notwithstanding several prohibitions, he proceeded, though with some interruptions, to execute his purpose. New complaints were made; and fresh orders were issued. At length, in January 1617, the Lord Mayor was directed to cause Roffeter's playhouse *to be pulled down* (f). Yet, such directions are seldom executed, unless they be

“ the Lord Mayor shall commit him or them so offending
 “ unto prison, and certify their Lordships of their contempt
 “ in that behalf. Of which, their Lordships order the said
 “ Roffeter and the rest to take notice and conform them-
 “ selves accordingly, as they will answer to the contrary at
 “ their peril.”

(f) A letter was written, by the privy-council, to the Lord Mayor of London, on the 26th January 16 $\frac{1}{7}$, in the following terms:—

“ Whereas his Majesty is informed that notwithstanding
 “ ing divers commandments and prohibitions to the con-
 “ trary, there be certain persons that go about to set up
 “ a playhouse in the *Blackfryars*, near unto his Majesty's
 “ *Wardrobe*, and for that purpose have lately erected and
 “ made fit a building which is almost if not fully finished:
 “ You shall understand that his Majesty hath this day ex-
 “ pressly signified his pleasure, that the same shall be pulled
 “ down; so as it be made unfit for any such use. Whereof
 “ wee require your Lordship to take notice, and to cause it
 “ to be performed accordingly with all speed, and thereupon
 “ to certify us of your proceedings.”

loudly

loudly called for, by the public voice. At the general *pulling down* of playhouses, and bear-gardens, in 1648, Major General Skippon was sent, with a body of horse, to assist *the levelers* (g).

But, a new power was at hand, which, without direction, or authority, could pull a playhouse down with *armipotent* speed. “ On “ Shrove-tuesday, the fourth of March 16¹⁶/₄₇, “ faith Howes, the *chronicler of the times*, many “ disordered persons, of sundry kinds, affem- “ bled in Finsbury-field, Stepney-field, and “ Lincoln’s-inn-fields; and in riotous manner “ did beat down the walls and windows of “ many victualling houses, which they sus- “ pected to be bawdy houses: and that af- “ ternoon they spoiled a *new playhouse*, and “ likewise did more hurt in other places.” It was the playhouse in Drury-lane, belonging to the Queen’s servants, which was thus spoiled; though the cause of this outrage does not appear. *This foul disorder* was deemed of *dangerous* consequence. And the privy-council directed the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and the Justices of Middlesex, to hold a special sessions; for inquiring, strictly,

(g) Com. Journal, 23d June 1648.

after the offenders, and punishing, exemplarily, the guilty (*b*).

Leaving

(*b*) The letter, which was written, on that occasion, is as follows :

“ It is not unknown unto you what tumultuous outrages
 “ were yesterday committed near unto the city of London
 “ in divers places, by a rowte of lewd and loose persons
 “ apprentices and others, especially in Lincoln’s-inn fields
 “ and Drury-lane, where, in attempting to pull down a
 “ playhouse belonging to the Queen’s Majesty’s servants,
 “ there were divers persons slain and others hurt and wound-
 “ ed, the multitude there assembled being to the number of
 “ many thousands as we are credibly informed. Forasmuch
 “ as the example of so foul and insolent a disorder may
 “ prove of dangerous consequence if this should escape with-
 “ out sharp punishment of the principal offenders ; Wee do
 “ therefore in his Majesty’s name expressly require your
 “ Lordship, and the rest of the commissioners of Oyer
 “ and Terminer for the city of London and county of Mid-
 “ dlesex, to take it presently into your care, to have a strict
 “ inquiry made for such as were of the company, as well
 “ apprentices or others, and forthwith to hold a special Ses-
 “ sions of Oyer and Terminer for that purpose, and there
 “ with severity to proceed against such as shall be found
 “ offenders as to law and justice appertaineth. And for
 “ that it was also observed that amongst this crew of appren-
 “ tices there were an exceeding great multitude of vagrant
 “ rogues gathered together as there are always about this
 “ city ready for any mischief upon every occasion a great
 “ dishonour and scandal to the government. Wee are there-
 “ fore to recommend that also unto you from his Majesty as
 “ a special charge, that you do think upon some course, and
 “ put

Leaving those directions behind him, King James departed for Scotland, on the 14th of March 16¹⁶/₁₇; “taking such recreations by the way,” says the malignant Wilson, “as might best beguile the days, but lengthen the nights; for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-racing the days quickly ran away, and the nights with feasting, masking, and dancing, were the more extended.” Amid *sik dauncing, and deray*, King James had three plays acted before him, for preventing *hearts discontent, and sour affliction* (i).

The

“put it in execution presently for the dispatching of that sort of people and removing of them far from about the city of London and Westminster and the confines thereof, especially at this present, when his Majesty and a great part of his council are to be absent for so long a time. And as providence and discretion doth now needfully require, since this warning is given you, to have at all times hereafter an eye and watch upon the apprentices likewise, who by this experience and the like where the reins of liberty are given them, are found apt to run into many unsufferable insolencies. Touching all these points his Majesty will expect a strict and particular account from you of your duties, whereof wee wish you may acquit yourselves as becometh you.” [The council-register of the 5th of March 16¹⁶/₁₇.]

(i) On the 11th of July 1617, there issued a warrant for payment to certain players, for three stage-plays, that were

The reign of James saw the English stage advance to its full maturity, and to the greatest splendour; not indeed in the external form, and scenic œconomy, of the ancient, or present theatres, but in ingenuity of fable, felicity of dialogue, and sublimity of stile, which then animated the English dramas: Such were the happy productions of the creative genius of Shakspeare! When his influence was withdrawn, by his retirement from the theatrick world, the stage as rapidly declined, till it was totally suppressed, by violence, in 1648. Owing to a remarkable coincidence, or singular fatality, the stage was deprived of its principal pillars, about the same period. Alexander Cooke died, in 1614. Shakspeare ceased to write, in 1615. Philip Henslow, the great patron of poets, and of players, died in 1616. Edward Allen retired, almost immediately from the Bankside to Dulwich. On the 13th of March 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, Richard Cowley was buried in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. In three days, Richard Burbadge, the *Roscus* of his time, followed him to the same cemetery. Robert Armin departed be-

acted before his Majesty, in his journey to Scotland, such sums of money, as is usual in the like kind.—The *such sums* were probably £. 10, for each play. [Council-register.]

fore the year 1622. Nicholas Tooley, died in 1623. Heminges, and Cundal, seceded from the stage, about the same time; satiated with praise, rather than with profit. There remained, nevertheless, several companies of actors, who can scarcely be traced in the obscure annals of the stage, as when little has been done, less can be related: And the successors of the race of Shakspeare neither illuminated the scene, by their brilliancy of genius, nor supported the drama, by their powers of acting.

Such, then, is *the additional Apology*, which the believers beg leave to submit to the equity of this court. It will be easily recollected, that they are accused of *knowing nothing of the history of the stage*; of *knowing nothing of the history of Shakspeare*; of *knowing nothing of old hand-writing*. You read these accusations, and these grievous crimes, committed by the ring-leaders, and their followers, in almost every page of the *accusing Inquiry* (k). Their apology is, that, after all the labours of their accuser, they have produced much information about the stage, which is as new, as it is important, and *bodies forth things unknown* in the annals of

(k) P.p. 352—363-4.

the theatre (1). Without arrogating a perfect knowledge of the history of Shakspeare, they have added something to it, which was unknown before; and they have found his brother Edmond at *the Globe*, though he had eluded the searches of Mr. Malone. Without pretending to know the whole science of *old hand-writing*, they have shown sufficient skill, at least in the reading of parish-registers, to correct many mistakes of their accuser, in his assertions, and dates. Here, might the believers *shut up* their apology in *measureless content*: But, as their *grievous crimes* seem to admit of no *shadowy expiations*, in the judgment of their accuser, the believers, with the permission of this court, will advert to other thea-

(1) They refer in general to the many documents, which they have produced from the public archives. The will of Shakspeare has, indeed, been the common property of commentators, since the year 1763. Mr. Malone published the nuncupative will of Richard Burbadge, and the wills of Heminges, Cundal, and Underwood: I have now produced, notwithstanding many warnings, that *no other wills of players*, in Shakspeare's age, could be found, the nuncupative will of Sly, together with the wills of Phillips, Cooke, and Tooley, which are more instructive than those of Heminges, Cundal, and Underwood; and I have moreover given the substance of the wills of Pope, and of Henslow; and by ascertaining many dates, have corrected several errors in Mr. Malone's history of the stage.

trical topicks, which may incite attention, by their newness, and repay perseverance, by their information : They will, therefore, submit to this discerning court, as a *supplemental Apology*, a dramatical subject, which the historian of the stage has scarcely touched upon ; and, from its novelty, will evince, that *self-sufficiency* may proceed from *inexperience*, at the end of thirty years study : It will hence follow, *apologetically*, that,—

“ ————— Seeing *ignorance* is the curse of God ;

“ *Knowledge* must be th’ wing, whereby we fly to heaven.”

— § X. —

OF THE MASTER OF THE REVELS.

If we look into the King’s household of early times, for the superintendant of the royal pastimes, we shall see an officer of high dignity, and extensive power, who was called, in all formal proceedings, *Camerarius Hospitij*, and is named, in the act of precedency, *the King’s Chamberlain (a)*. This great officer, who is called, in modern times, the *Lord CHAMBERLAIN*, had the direction, and controul, of the officers, belonging to the King’s chambers, except of those of the bedchamber,

(a) 31 Hen. 8. ch. 10.

which belongs, exclusively, to the Groom of the Stole; and of the officers of the King's wardrobe, in all the King's houses: The Lord Chamberlain had also the superintendance, and government, of the King's hunting, and *Revels*; of the *Comedians*, musicians, and other royal servants, appointed either for use, or recreation (*b*): And he was the high superintendent of coronations, funerals, and cavalcades. The Lord Chamberlain was of course, by the original constitution of his office, the real *Master* of the *Revels*; the great director of the sports of the court, by night, as well as of the sports of the field, by day. This sovereign jurisdiction, over the pastimes of the court, the Lord Chamberlain continues to enjoy, during the present times; after many changes of fashion, and some revolutions of power.

It was in the capricious reign of Henry 8th, who, in 1543, had prohibited by act of (*c*) parliament religious pastimes, that a cyon, cleped the *Master of the Revels*, was first grafted

(*b*) Cowell in Vo.—*Chamberlain*;—Laws of Honour, 334: And see the Household-book of Edward the 1vth, “A CHAMBERLAYN for the King in household, the grete officer sitting in the Kinge's chamber.”

(*c*) 34-5 Hen. 8. ch. 1,

into the ancient stock. When we look into the household establishments of prior reigns, we see nothing of such an officer. In 1490, there was indeed an *Abbot of Misrule*, who was said to have well performed his office: But, he seems to have been merely a predecessor of the *Lord of Pastimes* of subsequent times; a personage, who was only appointed for the occasion, at great festivals, to incite mirth, by the effusions of his wit, and to restrain revelry, by the exercise of his prudence (*d*). In the establishment, which Henry the 8th made of his household, in the 17th of

(*d*) There is a curious passage in Stow's London [Strype's edit. 1754, vol. i. p. 304] which gives a particular account of the *Lord of Misrule*:—

“ First—In the Feast of Christmas there was, in the
 “ King's House, wheresoever he was lodged, a *Lord of Mis-*
 “ *rule*, or *Master of Merry Disports*; and the like had ye
 “ in the house of every Nobleman of Honour, or good
 “ Worship, were he spiritual, or Temporal. Among the
 “ which, the Mayor of London, and either of the Sheriffs,
 “ had their several *Lords of Misrule*, ever contending with-
 “ out quarrel, or offence, who should make the rarest pas-
 “ times to delight the beholders. These Lords beginning
 “ their rule at Alholland Eve, continued the same till the
 “ morrow after the Feast of the *Purification*, commonly
 “ called *Candlemas Day*: In all which space, there were
 “ fine and subtle Disguisings, Masks, and Mummeries, with
 “ playing at Cards for Counters, Nails, and Points, more
 “ for pastimes, than for gain.”

his reign, [1525] and which he afterwards augmented, we see not a trace of the *Master of the Revels* (e). It was in the year 1546, while William Poulet, Lord St. John of Basing, was Lord Chamberlain, that the office of *Master of the Revels* was created. The origin of the word is as uncertain, as the nature of the thing has hitherto been obscure. “*Revels*,” says Minshew, “seemeth to be from the French “*Reveiller, excitari* to awaken, or to be raised “from sleep; and signifieth, with us, sports “of dauncing, masking, comedies, tragedies, “and such like, used in the King’s house, “the houses of [the inns of] court, or of “other great personages (f).” Skinner follows the derivation of Minshew; but Lye derives the word *revel* from the Dutch *raveelen*, to rove about, which is much countenanced, says Johnson, by the old phrase *ravel-rout*, or

(e) See a collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household, which were printed by the Antiquary Society, in 1790.

(f) *Guide to the Tongues*, 1617, in Vo. *Revels*. Minshew has *to revel*, or riot; *a reveller*, or roister; rioter, swaggerer, glutton. Skelton has the following lines, which are quoted by Warton, as nervous, and manly:

“*Ryot and Revell* be in your Court roubles,

“*Mayntenance and Mischeffe* these be men of myght,

“*Extorcyon* of you: s counted for a knyght.”

tumultuous

tumultuous festivity. The *thing*, and the *word*, were both perfectly known to Shakspeare:—

Sir Andrew says: “I delight in *masks*, and *revels*, sometimes altogether.”

Sir Toby asks: “Art thou good at these *kick-saws*, knight (g) ?

It was in 1546, that Sir Thomas Cawerden, who appears in the household establishments of 1525, as a gentleman of the privy (b) chamber, was appointed to the office of *Master of the (i) Revels*; “*officium magistri “jocorum, revelorum, et mascorum,*” vulgarly called, says the patent, *revels*, and *masks*. Henry the eighth might have now said:—

“————— Go Cawerden;

“Stir up the Londinian youth to merriments;

“Awake the pert, and nimble-spirit of mirth;

“Turn melancholy forth to funerals:

“*That pale companion is not for our pomp.*”

At that epoch, our pastimes were rather joyous, than delicate; our dramas were yet unformed; and our actors were but *children*. Henry the 8th, who thus established a particular officer, as “his usual manager of mirth,”

(g) *Kick-saw*, says Johnson, is a corruption of the French *quelque chose*; something fantastical, or ridiculous.

(b) *Household Ordinances*, published in 1790, p. 165, and 169, wherein he is called *Canerden*; so difficult is it, in *old writings*, to distinguish the *n* from the *u*; and in p. 216, he is called *Carden*; so little correspondence was there, in those times, between the spelling, and the pronounciation.

(i) Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 62.

had

had the same establishment, as his father had, of players, and (*k*) musicians, who contributed, according to their several faculties, to exhilarate his court,—

“By pomp, and feast, and *revelry*,
“With *mask*, and antick pageantry.”

The court of Edward the Sixth was too much occupied with religious reform, or ambitious projects, to relish much the captivating pleasures of *antick pageantry*. Yet, during the youthful reign of Edward, there was sometimes, at Christmas, a Lord of Pastimes, and at other times, a Lord of *Misrule*; whose

(*k*) The following establishment, from a document in the *Paper-office*, will enable us to form a judgment of the relative importance of each of the several officers:—

The Master of the Revels - - - - -	£. 10	—	—
The Yeoman of the Revels - - - - -	9	2	6
8 players of <i>Interludes</i> at £. 3. 6. 8. each			
per annum - - - - -	26	13	4
3 singers at £. 6. 13. 4. each - - - - -	20	—	—
2 singers at 9. 2. 6. each - - - - -	18	5	—
2 Harpers, one at 18. 5. —			
the other at 20. — —			
	38	5	—
A bag piper - - - - -	12	3	4
2 flute players—one at £. 30 — —			
the other at - - - - 18 5 —			
	48	5	—
A serjeant trumpeter, and 15 other trumpeters			
at £. 24. 6. 8. each - - - - -	413	13	4
			duty

duty appears to have been, to *awake the pert, and nimble, spirit of mirth*. On the 28th of January 155²/₃, Sir Thomas Cawerden was directed to supply William Baldwin, who was the great dramatist of that day, and who was appointed "to set forth a play, before the King, upon Candlemas day, at night," with appropriate apparel, and the accustomed requisites. The whole expence of the revels, during the reign of Edward the sixth, who continued his father's establishment of players, amounted yearly to about £. 325 (1). It was a period, indeed, when there were seldom heard, or seen, the

"Unwelcome revellers whose lawless joy

"Pains the sage ear, and hurts the sober eye."

During the gloomy reign, which succeeded the untimely demise of Edward the sixth, we may easily suppose that, in the absence of *unwelcome revellers*, the master of the revels

(1) On the 18th of December 1552, there issued a warrant to Sir John [Thomas] Cawerden the Master of the Revels for £. 300.—On the 18th of January 155²/₃, there was issued to Mr. Carden, [Sir Thomas Cawerden] £. 328. 6. towards the defrayment of charges, due within his office, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.—20th January 155²/₃, there issued to Sir Thomas Cawerden, for the charges of the Lord of Misrule, at Christmas last, £. 326. [From the Council-reg^{rs}.]

had probably little power, and less profit. During that unhappy period, the privy council, who engrossed all power, exerted their unbounded authority, in prohibiting *lewd plays*, and restraining irreverent sports. There were, in those days, no settled theatres, while the Queen had an establishment of players; and *the ordinary was the licenser of the stage*: Yet, in that reign, private gentlemen gave licences to players, in the country, for preventing such players, from being deemed *vagabonds* (m). Mary, however, did sometimes comfort herself with the *regall disport* of masking: And, on St. Mark's day, in the year 1557, there was presented before her, by her special commandment "a *notorious maske* of Almaynes, "Pilgrymes, and Irishemen:"—

"————— What *masking stuff* is here!

"Why; what o'devil's name, Caw'rden, call'st thou this(n)?"

Sir

(m) Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 212.

(n) The QUEEN'S *warrant* for delivering to Sir Thomas Cawarden certain necessaries, for a mask. [From the original in Mr. Craven Ord's collection.]

MARYE the *quene*.

Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well And whereas of welbeloved S^r Thomas Cawerden knight M^r. of o^r. Revells Tryumphes and Maskes upon o^r. speciall comaudem^t to him signified by our vizchamblain dothe shewe and set forthe on Saint Markes

Sir Thomas Cawerden, who had the management of this mask, as master of the revels, did not long survive the demise of Mary; for he died, in December 1559; and was buried, according to his dying request, in his

Markes daye next comge to o^r. Regall disport recreacion and comfort a notoriousmaske of Almaynes pilgrymes and Irishe-men w^t their insidents and accomplishes accordingly And dothe for that purpose lack certayne silks to his fantasie for the better furniture and garnishinge thereof: our pleasure is furthw^t. upon the receipt of theis o^r. Tres ye delyver or cause to be delyved more for the same of suche our stufte remayninge in yo^r. charge and custodie theis p^cells underwritten vidz of Redde velvett twentyfyve yds / of Carnacion velvet siefteyne yds / of purple gold sarcenet nyne yds di di q^r. / [half and half quarter] of yellow sarcenet twenty six yds di di q^r. of Redde sarcenet fortye nyne yds di / of whight sarcenet thirtie three yds di di q^r. / and of clothe of silver w^t workes fower yds / And his hand testifeng the receipt of theis p^cells before written w^t. this o^r. warrant signed shalbe to you a sufficient discharge in that behalfe / Yeoven under o^r signet at o^r palayce of Westmr. the last of Aprill in the thirde and fourthe yeres of o^r. Reignes /

Thies p^cells above written
ar receved the day above
written by me S^r Thoms
Cawerden knight M^r of the
Kinge and quene their Mats
Tryumphes Masks and Re-
vells to the use abesaid /

To o^r. Right trustie and wel-
beloyed Counsaillor S^r Ed-
ward Walgrave knight and
M^r. of o^r great Wardrobe or
to his Deputie or Deputies
thear /

By me

Th Cawerden

parish

parish church of Blechingley (o). Meantime, the accession of Elizabeth gave fresh vivacity to pastimes. Lord Howard of Effingham was then Lord Chamberlain, though he seems to have neither reviewed plays, nor licensed players. Sir Thomas Benger was appointed Master of the Revels, in the room of Cawerden, on the 18th of January 1559-60 (p). Yet, he was not the first Master of the Revels,

(o) His will was proved in the prerogative office, before Dr. Walter Haddon, on the 29th of December, 1559, by Elizabeth, his widow, and William Moore, an executor. He died seised of the manor of Wylye, in the same county: and being *Master of the Tents* he bequeathed "to Richard Leigh of Blackfriars London, all the stuff and lumber, belonging to the *Office of the Tents*, in the Blackfryers:" So little attention was there then paid to precision of spelling, that Sir Thomas was sometimes called *Carden*, and in the subsequent patent to Benger, *Carwerden*.—Aubrey, in his Survey of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 74, says, that in the chancel of Blechingly church there stood a handsome free stone monument, supported by Ionic pillars *said* to belong to Sir Thomas Carwerden, Knt who was *bcw-bender* to Henry viii, but that no inscription remained.

(p) Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 565: Mr. Malone calls him Thomas Benger; forgetting, that he was a knight; and dates his patent on the 18th of January 1560-61; not adverting that Rymer says it issued in the second year of Elizabeth. He was, in 1553, the second day after the coronation of Mary, made a Knight of the Carpet, by the name of Sir Thomas Berenger. [Strype's Mem. vol. ii. apx. ii.]

during

during Elizabeth's reign, as Mr. Malone (*q*) asserts; for Cawerden lived till December 1559. When the Earl of Leicester obtained the first general license for his theatrical servants to act stage-plays, in any part of England, there was added this proviso, "that the
 " said commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and
 " stage-plays be, by the *Master of our Revels*,
 " for the time being, first seen and allow-
 " ed (*r*)." This circumspect clause, which does honour to the prudence of Elizabeth, seems never to have been copied by any of her successors, when such circumspection had become much more necessary, from the progress of *revel-rout*. The Master of the Revels had, before this epoch, authority over the pastimes of the court: He was now, for the first time, invested with authority over the pastimes of the country. While the dramas of the court were still inelegant; while few plays were yet produced; while the gentlemen of Greys-inn, and the Children of St. Paul's, were the most frequent actors before the Queen; the office of Master of the Revels could not be either important, or profitable.

(*q*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 45.

(*r*) This license may be seen in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 156.

Sir Thomas Benger lived to see the establishment of two regular theatres, about the year 1570; and to observe the introduction of Italian players into London; but he lived not to behold the brilliant sun of Shakspeare, which was destined to illumine England; soon after *his eye did homage elsewhere*. Sir Thomas died in March (s) 1577; leaving, as he confesses, in his will, *many debts, with very few goods* to pay them.

Edmond Tilney, the son of Philip Tilney, Gentleman Usher of the privy chamber, to Henry the Eighth, was appointed Master of the Revels, in the room of Sir Thomas Benger, on the 24th of July, 1579 (t). Thomas Ratcliff,

(s) His will was proved in the prerogative-office, on the 27th of March 1577, by Thomas Fugal, his chaplain, and executor. Sir Thomas Benger had, with the office of the Revels, a grant of *finis on alienations*, which, as he complained, did not add much to his consequence, or his wealth.

(t) Mal. Shak. part ii. p. 45.—Philip Tilney was the son of Sir Philip Tilney of Shelley Hall, who was treasurer to the army, which invaded Scotland under the Earl of Surrey, in the 5th of Henry VIIIth, by Joane Tey, his second wife. The eldest son of Sir Philip, by Margaret Breuse, his first wife, was Thomas Tilney of Shelley Hall, who, marrying Margaret Barret, had Frederick Tilney of Shelley Hall, that married Margaret Bucke, the aunt of Sir George Bucke.—Agnes, the sister of Sir Philip Tilney, married Thomas Howard,

Ratcliff, Earl of Suffex, was then Lord Chamberlain. During the long rule of Tilney, the privy council exercised, as we have seen, an authority, legislative, and executive, over the dramatic world. The privy council opened, and shut, playhouses; gave, and recalled, licenses; appointed the proper seasons, when plays ought to be presented, or withheld; and regulated the conduct of the Lord Mayor of London, and the Vice-chancellors of Oxford, and Cambridge, with regard to plays, and players. The privy council gave Tilney, in 1589, two coadjutors, a statesman, and a divine, to assist him, in reforming “Comedyes
“ and Tragedyes (*u*).”

Among

Howard, the Duke of Norfolk.—There was also another Dutchess of Norfolk of the Tilney family, namely; Elizabeth, the only daughter, and heiress, of Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston, in the county of Lincoln:—From this Dutchess, the present Duke of Norfolk is descended; from the former, the Effingham branch is sprung.

(*u*) The following letters from the Lords of the privy council, which were copied from the council-registers, establish a most curious fact, at the very moment, that Shakspeare’s dramas were about to appear:

A letter to the Lord Archb: of Canterbury: “That whereas
“ there hathe growne some inconvenience by comon playes
“ and enterludes in and about the cyttie of London, in [as
“ much as] the players take uppon [them] to handle in their
“ plaies

Among other revolutions of the stage, Tilly, who was an observant officer, and a splendid

“ plaies certen matters of Divinity and of State unfit to be
 “ suffered: For redresse whereof their Ldhs have thought
 “ good to appointe some p̄sones of Judgment and understand-
 “ ing to viewe and examine their playes before they be p̄mit-
 “ ted to p̄sent them publickly, His Ld̄sp is desired that
 “ some fytt p̄son well learned in Divinity be appointed by
 “ him to *joyne wth. the Mr. of the Revelles*, and one othr.
 “ to be nominated by the L: Maior. and they joyntly wth.
 “ some spede to viewe and consider of such Comedyes and
 “ Tragedies as are and shall be publickly played by the
 “ Companies of players in and about the Cittie of London,
 “ and they to geve allowance of suche as they shall think
 “ meete to be played and to forbyd the rest.” Dated the
 12th of November, 1589.

A letter on the same day to the Lord Mayo^r. of London:
 “ That whereas their Ldhs have already signified unto
 “ him to appoint a sufficient p̄son learned and of Judge-
 “ ment for the Cittie of London to *joyne wth. the Mr. of the*
 “ *Revelles* and with a Divine to be nominated by the L:
 “ Archb: of Cant: for the reforminge of the plaies daylie
 “ exercysed and p̄sented publickly in and about the Cittie of
 “ London, wherein the players take upon them wthout
 “ Judgment or Decoru. to handle matters of Divinity and
 “ State. He is required if he have not as yet made choice
 “ of suche a p̄son, that he will soe do forthwith, and thereof
 “ geve knowledge to the L: Archb: and the Mr. of the Re-
 “ velles, that they may all meet accordingly.”

A Lre on the same day to the Ma^r. of the Revells; “ re-
 “ quiring him wth. two othrs. the one to be appointed by the
 “ L: Archb: of Canterb: and the othr. by the L: Maior. of
 “ London, to be men of learning and Judgment, and to call
 “ before

splendid man, had the happiness to behold the rising sun of Shakspeare, and to see it blaze out with meridian brightness, but saw not its setting beams. He had the satisfaction, however, of licensing thirty of Shakspeare's dramas; beginning with *Henry vi*, in 1590, or 1591, and ending with *Anthony and Cleopatra*, in 1608. While dramatists increased, Tilney assisted, in 1600, to regulate the stage, and to restrain the number of playhouses. He saw the players raised to new honours, at the commencement of a new reign; but to increase in licentiousness, as they rose in privileges. He died, in October (v) 1610, at Leatherhead, in Surrey,

“ before them the severall companies of players (whose servants soever they be) and to require them by authoritye hereof to deliver unto them their books that they may consider of the matters of their Comedyes and Tragedyes, and thereupon to stryke out or reforme suche parte and matters as they shall fynd unfytt and undecent to be handled in plaies, bothe for Divinitie and State, commanding the said Companies of players in her Mats. name, that they forbear to present any play publickly any Comedy or Tragedy other then suche as they three shall have seene and allowed, w^{ch}. if they shall not observe, they shall lett them knowe from their L^{sh}ps, that they shall be not onely severely punished but made [in] capable of the exercise of their profession for ever hereafter.”

(v) His will was proved in the prerogative-office, by

Surrey, where his father had died before him; and was buried on the 6th of October, by his own directions, in the church of Streatham. Sir George Buck asserted, after the death of his kinsman, that Edmond Tilney enjoyed, thirty-five pounds, yearly, for a house, as Master of the Revels, and a hundred pounds a year, for a *better* recompence (w).

Thomas Tilney, one of his executors, on the 17th of October 1610. The testator regrets, in his will, "that he had spent too much on fine cloathes;" but, as an atonement, he bequeathed many charities: And, he ordered a monument to be erected for himself and his father. The inscription records, as the last tribute to vanity, his alliance with Howard, the Duke of Norfolk. [Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. ii. p. 485-8.] Stow speaks of *one Mr. Tilney*, without adverting that he was the Master of the Revels, who procured an order from the Lord Treasurer to prevent the players of the Lord Admiral, and Lord Strange, from acting in the city; "conceiving an utter dislike to them." [Strype's edit. 1754, vol. ii. p. 331.] We see here only a glimpse of the truth; and, indeed, we have nothing, with regard to the stage, in Stow with the supplement of Strype, but mere *snatches of sight*, when we look for scenic history.

(w) As appears by a *document in the paper-office*. This assertion of Sir George Buck is confirmed, by what Mr. Malone found at the Exchequer, that there was paid, in 1611, to Edmond Tilney's executor, £. 120. 18. 3, as the arrears, due, to him, at his death. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 45.]

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding all the restraints of previous revival, and of subsequent reprehension, the comedians conducted their theatrical representations, like men, who regard profit, rather than propriety. In December 1604, the King's players brought upon the stage the *Tragedy of Gowry*; introducing the real *actors*, which was attended "with exceeding course of all sorts of people;" and which was followed by the displeasure of "some great counsellors (*x*)." From exhibiting recent transactions, the comedians went on to represent on the stage "the whole of the present time (*y*):" But, though the players *be the brief chronicles of the time*, they ought to exhibit the past, with only a reflective glance upon the present scene.

Before the demise of Elizabeth, the office of the Revels, owing to its greater importance, and *better recompence*, had become an object

(*x*) Winwood's Mem. vol. ii. p. 41:—Chamberlaine's letter to Winwood, dated the 18th of December 1604.

(*y*) The players, said Calvert to Winwood, on the 28th of March 1605, do not "forbear to present upon their stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing either the King, state, or religion, in so great absurdity, and with such liberty, that one would be afraid to hear them." [Winwood's Mem. vol. ii, p. 64.]

of desire to several competitors. John Lylly, the dramatist, had solicited for a reversionary grant of it, though without success; because he was opposed by *all the Howards*. George Buck, however, obtained a reversionary patent for the office of Master of the Revels, on the 23d of June 1603; and soon after this favour, King James *gently laid knighthood on his shoulder*. Our biographers have raised, rather than gratified, curiosity, in respect to Sir George Bucke. He was born at Ely, the eldest son of Robert (z) Bucke, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter Lee of Brandon-ferry; the grandson of Robert Bucke, and Jane, the daughter of Clement Higham; the great grandson of Sir John Bucke, who, having helped Richard to a horse, on Bosworth-field, was attainted for his zeal. Sir George Bucke was, at the epoch of that grant, appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber; while Thomas Howard, the Earl of Suffolk, was Lord Chamberlain. The death of Edmond Tilney put Sir

(z) When Robert Bucke gave his pedigree to the heralds, who visited Cambridgeshire, in 1575, he called himself *Bucke*; yet his son George spelt his name *Buc*; so little attention was there then paid to systematic accuracy. Will our biographers never form a league of amity with our heralds, which would be so useful, in promoting biographical knowledge!

George

George in possession of this envied office, though he probably acted in it a twelvemonth before his decease, But, such is life, that its sweetest enjoyments, are not to be long possessed, without some mixture of bitterness. The house of St. John's, which belonged to the office of the Revels, was soon after granted, by an easy monarch, to Lord Aubeny, an importunate favourite (*a*). Sir George Bucke solicited, and obtained, from the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, thirty pounds a year, till another house should be assigned to him for the accommodation of his office (*b*). In addition
to

(*a*) Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, sign. E. 1. relates, "that when Edward, the fourth, would show himself in publick state to the view of the people, hee repaired to his palace at St. Johnes, where he was accustomed to see the citty actors; and since then, by the princes free gift, hath belonged to the office of the Revels, where our court playes have beene in late daies yearely rehearsed, perfected, and corrected, before they came to the publicke view of the prince, and the nobility."—It was this palace, or rather some apartments in it, which had been assigned to the Master of the Revels, for his office; and which were now given away to another.

(*b*) Amidst the penury of information, with regard to the office of the Revels, I submit to the reader, a representation of Sir George Buc, to the Lord Treasurer; and the order thereon, by the Earl of Salisbury and Sir Julius Cæsar, the Chancellor

to this accommodation, his office, probably, produced him about a hundred pounds a year.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, which were found in the paper-office; and which will throw a little light on this obscure subject:—

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Salisbury,
L: High Treasurer of England, &c.

Most humbly I pray your Lordship to have favourable consideration of the rating of an annual allowance for me, and for rooms for the office for these few just, and honourable, considerations, and reasons:—

1. Imprimis—For the more honourable accommodating of his Majesty's office of the Revels, and for the better means of service to be done to his Majesty therein.
2. Item—In regard of the excessive dear rate of houses now to be hired, fit for such purposes and services.
3. Item—In consideration that the house granted to me by the King's letters patents is worth with the appurtenances $\text{£} 50$ ann.
4. Item—In consideration that the Lord of Suff: [olk] Lord Chamberlain *bath enjoined me to provide fit rooms for the office* / and whereunto were assigned and large rooms in St Jones [St Johns]; and which I have accordingly performed.
5. Item—In consideration that the late Master of the Revels had allowance of $\text{£} 35$ ann. for these purposes, *besides* $\text{£} 100$. for a better recompence, &c.
6. Item—In consideration that the yeomen and other inferior officers have allowance of $\text{£} 15$ ann. for their houses; after which rate proportionably the Master is to have treble, &c. (at the least) double allowance according to the honourable custom in like cases &c;

G. Buc.

After

year (c). Sir George Bucke had the honour to license Timon of Athens, in 1609; Corio-

After our hearty commendations : Whereas Sir George Buck Knight Master of his Majesty's Revels is by his letters patentes under the greate seale of England, to have such a house and lodgings as anniently belonged unto his place. And whereas by his Majesty's giste of the house of St. John's to the Lord Obigney, he hath been dispossessed of the house and lodgings formerly appointed to his office, and by means thereof forced to provide himself of another for a yearly rent, until some other place shalbe assigned unto him for that purpose, and thereupon he hath been a suitor unto us for some allowance, in regard of his said house and lodgings as we in our discretions should think meete and convenient for him.—Theis are therefore to will and require you to allowe unto him the sum of thirtie pounds by the yere in his accompte to be yerely passed before yo^r in respect of his said house and lodgings so taken for him as aforesaid by his Majesty's said graunt to the Lo: Obigney, and according to the same rates of £. 30, by the yere unto him, to make allowance of two whole years ended at the feast of All Saints last past. And the same to continue hereafter yerely until he shall be otherwise provided for by his Highness—And this shalbe your warrant and discharge in that behaulfe.—From Whitehall the last of Maye 1611.—Your loving frindes. R. SALISBURY.—JUL. CÆSAR.

(c) In 1612, the office of the Revels was on St. Peter's hill, whence he dedicated his treatise on the *third University* to Sir Edward Coke. [See Howe's Chron. p. 1061.] On the 13th of June 1613, a commission issued to Sir George Buck "to take up as many paynters, embroiderers, taylors, &c. as he shall think necessary for the office of the Revels." [Lyson's Environs, vol. i, p. 92.]

Ianus,

lanus, in 1610; Othello, in 1611; the Tempest, in 1612; and Twelfth Night, in 1614, which he saw in the manuscript, *without a blot*, and “absolute in their numbers, as Shakspeare “conceived them.” This honour, however, he did not enjoy, without the reprehension of his (*d*) superiors, and the envy of his equals. Mean time, Sir John Astley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, on the 3d of April 1612. Benjamin Johnson obtained a similar grant, on the 5th of October 1621: Yet, this was not old Ben, as it seemeth, who died in 1637, but young Ben, who died in (*e*) 1635; and who was thus tantalized

(*d*) As a proof, is submitted the following letter “to Sir “George Buck, knight, Master of the Revels,” from the Lords of the privy-council:—

“We are informed, that there are certain players, or “comedians, we know not of what company, that go “about to play some interlude, concerning the late Marquis “D’Ancre, which, for many respects, we think not fit to “be suffered: We do therefore require you, upon your “peril, to take order, that the same be not represented, or played, in any place about this city, or elsewhere, “where you have authority. And hereof have you a special “care.—And so &c.—Dated, the 22d of June 1617.”

(*e*) Steeven’s Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 311: and Mal. Shak. part iii. p. 45, wherein it is mistakingly said, that Ben Johnson,

lized with profit, and with pleasure, which he was never to obtain. The bad health of Sir George Bucke induced him to resign his office to Sir John Afley, in 1621, for a valuable consideration, no doubt; and he died on the 22d of (f) September 1623, seven years after the swan of Avon had ceased to sing; and the same year, in which Shakspeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, were published by Heminge, and Condell.

While the *Britannia* endures, Sir George Bucke will be remembered, as the friend of Camden; who is studious to avow the assistance, which he had received from him; and who praises Sir George, as "a man well learned, and well read." Howes, also, acknowledges, how much he had been obliged to Sir George, for particular help, in compiling his Chronicle. Among other disquisitions, Sir George Bucke

son, the poet, obtained the reversionary grant, in 1621. Dekker, in his *Satiromastix*, sneers at Johnson, by making Sir Vaughan say: "I have some cossen-germans at court * shall beget you the *reversion* of the *Master* of the King's *Revels*, or else to be his lord of misrule nowe at Christmas." [Wart. Hist. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 393; and Hawk. Old Plays, vol. iii. p. 156.]

(f) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 157: My researches have not enabled me to find the will of Sir George Bucke, nor to discover any administration to his estate.

†

wrote

wrote a treatise—"of *Poets and Musicians*," which recent Inquirers have not been able to find. He wrote also a tract on the *third University of England*, which he dedicated to Sir Edward Coke; and which was published by Howes, in 1631, as a supplement to his Chronicle; in order to show how much was taught in London. In this work, Sir George treated "of the *Art of Revels*," which, he says, "requireth knowledge in grammar, rhetorick, logick, philosophie, hiltory, music, mathe-
 " maticks, and knowledge in other arts (g)." On this interesting subject, he composed a particular treatise, which unhappily has not yet, by any diligence, been found. But, he did not write, as it seems, "the celebrated *History of Richard the 3d*," which is said to have been written, after his death, by George Bucke, his son (b).

Sir

(g) Sir George Bucke describes the arms of the office of the Revels, as follows; though no grant of them by the College of Arms can now be found:—"Gules, a cross argent; and in the first corner of the scutcheon a Mercuries *petasus* argent; and a lyon gules in chief or." See the *title-page* of this *Apology*.

(b) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 47. Among the contemporary wits, George Bucke prefixed to Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, when they were published in 1647, some verses

Sir George Bucke was succeeded, as Master of the Revels, by Sir John Astley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber. However ambitious of the honours of the office, or desirous of its profits, he appears to have been little solicitous about the performance of its duties. In August 1623, he appointed Sir Henry Herbert, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, his deputy; induced, partly by a valuable (*i*) consideration, although perhaps as much by the influence of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, who recognized Sir Henry, as his kinsman; and partly by the interest of George Herbert, the cele-

verses "To the desert of the author [Fletcher], in his most ingenious pieces:"—

"Let *Shakspeare*, Chapman, and applauded Ben,

"Wear the eternal merit of their pen;

"Here, I am love-sick; and were I to chuse

"A mistress Corival, 'tis Fletcher's muse."

This preference of Fletcher's muse of flippancy to Shakspeare's muse *of fire* was common to the wits of that age.

(*i*) Sir Henry says in his representation to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, dated the 11th of July, 1662, "that he had purchased Sir John Astley's interest in the said office; and obtained of the late King's bounty a grant under the great seal of England for two lives." [Steevens's *Shak.* vol. ii. p. 418.] The allusion here was probably to the reversionary grant, dated the 12th of August 1629, to himself, and Simon Thelwall.

brated

brated orator of Cambridge University, who had familiar intercourse with King James. Yet, Sir John Astley continued in the office, though he did not officiate, till his death, in January, 1639-40: and when he made his will, his *pride of power* induced a vain man to call himself, in his *testament*, *the Master of the Revels* (*k*).

Mean while, in August 1623, Sir Henry Herbert was received, as *Master of the Revels*, by his Majesty at Wilton; and together with the Lord Chamberlain, and the privy-council, he soon after incurred the King's displeasure, for allowing the Spanish court to be brought upon the stage (*l*). In order to make *surety*
more

(*k*) Mr. Malone says, Sir John Astley calls himself *the Master of the Revels*, in the *probate* of his will, in the prerogative-office. [Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 46.] The probat always follows the decease of the testator. The will was dated the 3d of January, and was proved on the 10th of February 1639-40, by William Harrison his executor, who says not, that the testator had been Master of the Revels. Sir John Astley was of Maidstone, in Kent, and was the cousin of Sir Jacob Astley, who is remembered in history, for his actions in the field.

(*l*) The subjoined letters will clearly explain that transaction, which is remarkable both in the political, and the theatrical, worlds:—

Mr.

more *secure*, Sir Henry obtained, on the 12th
August,

Mr. Secretary Conway's letter to the privy-council:—

“ May it please your Lordships ; — His Majesty
“ hath received information from the Spanish Am-
“ bassador of a very scandalous comedy acted publicly
“ by the King's players, wherein they take the bold-
“ ness, and presumption, in a rude, and dishonourable,
“ fashion, to represent, on the stage, the persons of his Ma-
“ jesty, the King of Spain, the Conde de Gondomar, the
“ Bishop of Spalato &c. His Majesty remembers well,
“ there was a commandment, and restraint, given against
“ the representing of any modern Christian Kings in those
“ stage plays ; and wonders much both at the boldness now
“ taken by that company, and also that it hath been per-
“ mitted to be so acted, and that the first notice thereof
“ should be brought to him by a foreign ambassador, while
“ so many ministers of his own are thereabouts, and cannot
“ but have heard of it. His Majesty's pleasure is, that your
“ Lordships presently call before you, as well the poet that
“ made the comedy, as the comedians that acted it : And
“ upon examination of them, to committ them, or such of
“ them, as you shall find most faulty, unto prison, if you
“ find cause, or otherwise take security for their forthcom-
“ ing ; and then certify his Majesty, what you find that co-
“ medy to be, in what points it is most offensive, by whom
“ it was made, by whom licensed, and what course you
“ think fittest to be held for the exemplary, and severe pu-
“ nishment of the present offenders, and to restrain such in-
“ solent, and licentious, presumption, for the future.—This
“ is the charge I have received from his Majesty, and with
“ it I make bold to offer to your Lordships the humble ser-
“ vice of &c.—From Rufford, August 12th ; 1624.”

August, 1629, for himself, and Simon Thelwall,

The answer to Mr. Secretary Conway from the privy-council :—

“ After our hearty commendations &c.—According to
 “ his Majesty’s pleasure signified to this board by your letter
 “ of the 12th. August, touching the suppressing of a scanda-
 “ lous comedy acted by The King’s players, we have called
 “ before us some of the principal actors, and demanded of
 “ them by what license and authority they have presumed to
 “ act the same; in answer whereto they produced a book
 “ being an original and perfect copy thereof (as they af-
 “ firmed) seen and allowed by Sir Henry Herbert Kn^t.
 “ Master of the Revells, under his own hand, and subscribed,
 “ in the last page of the said book: We demanding further,
 “ whether there were not other parts or passages represented
 “ on the stage, than those expressly contained in the book,
 “ they confidently protested, they added, or varied, from the
 “ same, nothing at all.—The poet, they tell us, is one Mid-
 “ dleton, who shifting out of the way, and not attending the
 “ board with the rest, as was expected; we have given
 “ warrant to a messenger for the apprehending of him.—
 “ To those that were before us, we gave a sound, and sharp,
 “ reproof, making them sensible of his Majesty’s high dis-
 “ pleasure herein, giving them straight charge, and com-
 “ mands, that they presumed not to act the said comedy any
 “ more, nor that they suffered any play or interlude what-
 “ soever to be acted by them, or any of their company until
 “ his Majesty’s pleasure be further known. We have caused
 “ them likewise to enter into bond for their attendance upon
 “ the board whensoever they shall be called. As for our
 “ certifying to his Majesty (as was intimated by your letter)
 “ what passages in the said comedy we should find to be
 “ offensive and scandalous; We have thought it our duties
 “ for

wall, a reverfionary grant of the office, which was to commence at the deaths, or refignation of

“ for his Majesty’s clearer information, to fend herewithall
 “ the book itfelf, fufcribed as aforefaid by the Mafter of
 “ the Revels, that fo either yourfelf, or fome other, whom
 “ his Majesty fhall appoint to perufe the fame, may fee the
 “ paffages themfelves out of the original, and call Sir Henry
 “ Herbert before you, to know a reafon of his licenfing
 “ thereof (who as we are given to underftand) is now at-
 “ tending at court; So having done as much, as we con-
 “ ceived agreeable with our duties in conformity to his Ma-
 “ jefty’s royal commandments, and that which we hope
 “ fhall give him full fatisfaction; we fhall continue our hum-
 “ ble prayers to Almighty God for his health and fafety—
 “ and bid you very heartily farewell.” [Dated the 21^{ft} of
 Auguft 1624.]

Mr. Secretary Conway’s reply to the privy-council :

“ Right Honourable ;— His Majesty having received fa-
 “ tisfaction in your Lordfhips endeavours, and in the figni-
 “ fication thereof to him by your’s of the 21th of this pre-
 “ fent, hath commanded me to fignify the fame to you.
 “ And to add further, that his pleasure is, that your Lord-
 “ fhips examine, by whose direction, and application, the
 “ perfonating of Gondomar, and others was done ; and that
 “ being found out, the party, or parties to be feverely pu-
 “ nished. His Majesty being unwilling for one’s fake, and
 “ only fault, to punifh the innocent, or utterly to ruin the
 “ company. The difcovery on what party, his Majesty’s juft-
 “ tice is properly, and duly, to fall, and your execution of it,
 “ and the account to be returned thereof, his Majesty leaves
 “ to your Lordfhips wifdoms, and care. And this being
 “ that I have in charge, continuing the humble offer of my

of Sir John Astley, and Benjamin Johnson. This place, says Isaac (*m*) Walton, required

“service and duty to the attendance of your commands &c.—From Woodstock, the 27th. August 1624.”

N. B. There is indorsed on Mr. Secretary Conway’s letters, by a hand of the time: “Touching the play, called, “*GAME AT CHESSÉ.*” —In the council-register of the 30th August 1624, there is the following entry:—This day Edward [Thomas] Middleton of London, gent. being formerly sent for by warrant from this board, tendred his appearance, wherefor his indemnitie is here entered into the register of council causes: nevertheless he is enjoyned to attend the board, till he be discharged by order of their Lordships.

In a copy of a play, says Mr. Malone, [Shak. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 154.] called a *Game at Chess*, 1624, which was formerly in possession of Thomas Pearson, Esq. is the following memorandum in an old hand:—“After nine days, “wherein I have heard some of the actors say they took fifteen “hundred pounds, the Spanish faction, being prevalent, got it “suppressed, and the author, M^r Thomas Middleton, committed to prison.” According to “this statement they received above £. 166. 12s. on each performance. The foregoing extracts shew, that there is not even a semblance of “truth in this story.”—We see, however, from those state-papers, that the story had a great semblance of truth in it: The only improbability in it is the receiving of £. 1500, at the theatre, for nine representations.—This play, which is never more to be forgotten, was written, as we know from record evidence, by Edward [Thomas] Middleton; and was acted nine days successively at The Globe, upon the Bankside.—Of the *Game at Chess* there have been two editions, without the dates of their publication.

(*m*) Life of George Herbert.

“a diligent

“ a diligent wisdom, with which God hath
“ blessed Sir Henry Herbert.” Certain it is,
that he executed that office, and with this
wisdom, for fifty years, during *giddy paced*
times; when *diligent wisdom* was hardly a safe-
guard for property, or person.

Of such a man, executing such an office,
who would not wish to know some further
particulars? I will endeavour to gratify a rea-
sonable curiosity, by adding a few notices,
with regard to a person, who left behind him
office-books, which have greatly illustrated the
history of the Revels. Henry Herbert was
born towards the close of the sixteenth cen-
tury, in the castle of Montgomery, which was
then a place of *state* and *strength*; and had
been long possess'd by the Herberts together
with a plentiful estate. His father was Rich-
ard Herbert, who was descended, through a
succession of many knights, from the memo-
rable William, Earl of Pembroke, who died in
the reign of Edward the 4th. Henry Her-
bert's mother was Magdalen, the youngest
daughter of Sir Richard Newport of High
Arkol, in the county of Salop, the happy
mother of seven sons, and three daughters,
which she would often say, *was Job's number*;
and, at the same time, *praise God that they*

were defective, neither in their shapes nor in their reason. This charming woman is celebrated, by Dr. Donne, in his poems, as *the Autumnal beauty*. Sir Edward Herbert, the famous Lord Cherberie, was her eldest son, George Herbert, the admirable orator of Cambridge, was her fifth son, and Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, was the sixth son of this *Autumnal beauty* (n). Of his brother Henry, Lord Herbert relates, “ that after he had been
 “ brought up in learning, as his other brothers
 “ were, he was sent by his friends to France,
 “ where he attained the language of that
 “ country in much perfection, after which
 “ time he came to court, and was made gentle-
 “ man of the King’s privy-chamber, and
 “ Master of the Revels, by which means, and
 “ also by a good marriage, he attained to
 “ great fortunes : He hath given several
 “ proofs of his courage, in duels, and other-
 “ wise, being no less dextrous in the ways of
 “ the court (o).”

Sir

(n) Walton’s Life of George Herbert, 1670.—Walton informs us, that on the 11th July 1627, he saw, and heard, Doctor Donne, the Dean of St. Paul’s, weep, and preach, the funeral sermon of that excellent woman, the celebrated mother, of celebrated men, in the parish church of Chelsea, where she now rests, in her quiet grave. [Ib. p. 19.]

(o) His own Life, p. 13. Lord Herbert settled on each
 of

Sir Henry Herbert owed his preferment to the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain. When he became acting Master of the Revels, in 1623, he was assisted by William Hunt, who continued his yeoman till September, 1639; when Joseph Taylor, the well known manager of various theatres, the first player of Hamlet, and the able representative of Iago, was appointed Yeoman of the Revels (*p*), Notwithstanding the able

of his six brothers an annuity of *thirty* pounds, during their lives, and gave each of his three sisters a thousand pounds. [Ib. 52.]

(*p*) To the Clerk of the Signet attending; These are to signify unto you his Majesty's pleasure, that you prepare a bill for the royal signature for a patent to be granted to Joseph Taylor of the office or place of Yeoman of the Revels to his Majesty in ordinary, in the place of William Hunt deceased; to have and enjoy the said place together with the fee of sixpence *p* diem, payable quarterly in the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and all other fees, profits, emoluments, and advantages whatsoever to the said place belonging to him the said Joseph Taylor, during his life, in as ample, large, and beneficial a manner, as the said William Hunt or any other before him ever had and enjoyed the same: And to commence from the day of the decease of the said William Hunt. And this &c. Dated the 21st of Oct. 1639. [Copied from a MS book in the Lord Chamberlain's office.] Taylor is said to have died at Richmond, in 1653, or 1654: But, I have not been able to discover his will, or any administration to his effects.

help of Taylor, there was allowed to be acted by the Master of the Revels, a play called *The Whore New Vamped*, which drew the attention of the privy-council, and involved them both in merited discredit (q).

In

(q) “Whereas complaint was this day [29th September 1639] made to his Majesty sitting in council, that the stage players of the Red Bull have lately for many days together, acted a scandalous and libellous play, wherein they have audaciouſly reproached in a libellous manner, traduced, and personated, *not only ſome of the Aldermen of the City of London, and other perſons of quality*; but alſo ſcandalized and defamed the whole profeſſion of Proctors belonging to the Court of Civil Law, and reflected upon the preſent Government: It was Ordered, that Mr. Attorney General ſhould be hereby prayed, and required, forthwith to call before him, not only the poet that made the ſaid play, and the actors that played the ſame, but alſo the perſon who licensed it, and having diligently examined the truth of the ſame complaint, to proceed ſoundly againſt ſuch of them, as he ſhall find to be faulty, and to uſe ſuch effectual expedition to bring them to ſentence as that their exemplary puniſhment may prevent ſuch insolentcyſ be- times.”

Exceptions:—In the play called *The Whore New Vamp'd* where there was mention of the New Duty upon wines, one that perſonates a juſtice of the peace, ſays to Cane, Sirrah, I'll have you before the alderman;—whereto Cane replied in theſe words, viz. The alderman! The alderman is a baſe, drunken, ſottiſh knave, I care not for the alderman; I ſay the alderman is a baſe, drunken, ſottiſh knave; another ſaid, How now, Sirrah, what alderman do you ſpeak of? Then
Cane

In the mean time, the passion of the court for theatrical entertainments required a stricter attendance, both at Whitehall, and at Hampton-court, of the officers of the Revels, than had been usual, during *the stealing hours of time*; and they were allowed for a larger service, a suitable allowance (r). The same
 passion

Cane said, I mean alderman, the blacksmith, in Holborn:—said th'other, was he not a vintner? Cane answered, I know no other.—In another part of the same play, one speaking of projects, and patents, that he had gotten amongst the rest, said that he had a patent for twelve pence a piece, upon every proctor and proctor's man, that was not a knave:—Said another, was there ever known any proctor, but he was an ar-rant knave?

It does not appear, that *The Whore New Vamp'd* was ever published, at least it is not mentioned, either in the *Biographia Dramatica*, or in *Egerton's Remembrancer*: Nor, is this circumstance much to be regretted; as it appears to have been very libellous, and very dull. This is probably the last time, that the privy-council ever sat for the purpose of correcting the dulness of the stage: For, in the subsequent year, the ancient jurisdiction of the privy-council, over persons, and property, was restrained within salutary bounds, by the act 16 Cha. 1. ch. 10, for regulating the privy-council, and for taking away the court of star-chamber: This act forms an epoch in dramatic history.

(r) After my very hearty comendations: Whereas the officers of the Revells have [attended] by my command at Hampton-court about his Majesty's service these three years last beginning the last of October 1632, and ending the last
 of

passion also led to the introduction, and encouragement, of French comedians, and Spanish players, during the year 1635 (s). And that
 passion

of October 1635 A month sooner than their Ordinary time of attendance; These are therefore to pray and require you, that for every year within the said time, you give allowance to the Master of 8^s. per diem, which cometh to £. 12.— To the Clerk Comptroller, Clerk and Yeoman £. 3. 6. 8. a piece; which cometh to £. 10:—And to the Groom £. 1. 13. 4, which cometh in all to £. 23. 13. 4. yearly. And for so doing &c. Dated the 25th May 1636.

After my very hearty commendations:—Whereas the Master and Officers of the Revells were commanded by his Majesty to begin their attendance yearly at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, which is above a month before their usual time of waiting, and demand allowance for the three last years, beginning the last of October 1630, and ending the last of October 1632, a month sooner than their ordinary time of attendance: These are therefore to pray and require you, that for every year within the said time, you give allowance to the Master of 8^s. per diem, which cometh to £. 12: To the Clerk Comptroller, Clerk, and Yeoman £. 3. 6. 8. a piece, which cometh to £. 10: And to the Groom £. 1. 13. 4. yearly; and so continue the same from time to time yearly until you have warrant to the contrary. And for so doing &c. Dated the 13th February 1637⁶.—To my loving friends the Auditors of his Majesty's Imprest, or to any one of them whom it may concern. [From a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office.]

(s) There is the following entry in a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office: 18 April 1635: His Majesty hath commanded me to signify his royal pleasure, that the
 French

passion of the King and Queen created a great, and extraordinary expence, at a time, when they enjoyed but a very scanty revenue: The acting of Cartwright's *Royal Slave*, on Thursday the 12th of January 1637⁶, before the King at Hampton-court, cost one hundred and fifty-four (*t*) pounds, exclusive of forty pounds, which

French comedians (having agreed with Monf. le Febure) may erect a stage, scaffolds, and seats, and all other accommodations, which shall be convenient, and act and present interludes, and stage plays, at his house, in Drury-lane, during his Majesty's pleasure, without any disturbance, hindrance, or interruption. And this shall be to them, and Mr. le Febure, and to all others, a sufficient discharge, &c. [The address is wanting.]

(*t*) Id:—The following list of payments, which was compiled from the same MS. book, will also show how much the expence for theatrical entertainments was increased, since the frugal reign of Elizabeth; as, indeed, the price of all things had risen:—

27th April 1634—A warrant for £.220, unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Elliard Swanston, for themselves, and the rest of their fellows, the King's players, for 22 plays by them acted before his Majesty within a whole year.

25th August 1634—A council-warrant for £.100, for the Prince's players for their attendance abroad, during the progress of the court.

31st Decemr. 1634—A warrant for £.70, unto Christopher Beeston for himself, and the rest of the Queen's players for plays acted by them in 1633.

which Sir Henry Herbert says the King gave the author. The King and Queen's passion for

18th Jañry 163 $\frac{4}{5}$ —A warrant for £. 1400 unto Mr. Edmund Taverner, to be employed towards the charge of a masque to be presented before his Majesty at Whitehall at Shrovetide next, the same to be taken without imprest, account, or other charge, to be set upon him his executors or assigns. [This is the masque, which Sir Henry Herbert records the acting of " On Shrove-tuesday night, the 18th of February; " It was the noblest masque of my time; the best " poetry; the best scenes; and the best habitts."]

24th Jañry 163 $\frac{4}{5}$ —A warrant for £. 30 unto William Blagrove for himself and the rest of his company, for three plays acted by the Children of the Revells at Whitehall in 1631.—Mem.—Their bill was signed by Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revells, and passed.

30th Jañry 163 $\frac{4}{5}$ —A warrant for £. 30, unto William Blagrove, for himself and the rest of his company, for three plays, acted by the Children of the Revells, in 1631.—

10th May 1635—A warrant for £. 30, unto Mons. Josias Floridor for himself and the rest of the French players, for three plays acted by them, at the Cockpit.—

24th May 1635—A warrant for £. 250, unto John Lowen, for himself and the rest of the King's players, for twenty plays (whereof 5 at £. 20, a piece, being at Hampton-court) by them acted between 13th May 1624, and the 30th of March 1626.

10th Decem^r 1635—A warrant for £. 100 to the Prince's comedians—viz. £. 60 for 3 plays acted at Hamp-

for plays showed itself in their kindness
to

ton-court at £. 20 for each play, in September, and October 1634.—And £. 40, for four plays at Whitehall, and the Cockpit, in January, February, and May following, at £. 10 for each play.—Mem.—Their bill was signed by Sir Henry Herbert, Joseph Moore, Andrew Kayne [Kane] and Ellis Worth.

23d Decemr. 1635—A warrant for £. 10 unto John Navarro, for himself and the rest of the company of Spanish players, for a play presented before his Majesty.

8th Jañry 163⁵/₆—A warrant for £. 10. unto Josias Floridor, for himself and the rest of the French players, for a tragedy, by them acted before his Majesty in December last.—

24th March 163⁵/₆—A warrant for £. 90, unto Mr. Christopher Beefton, for 8 plays acted by the Queen's players at court, in 1634, whereof one at Hampton-court.

10th May 1636—A warrant for £. 180, unto the King's players, for plays, acted in 1635.

8th Febr'y 163⁶/₇—A warrant for £. 50, unto Richard Henton, for himself and the rest of the company of the players, at Salisbury-court, for 3 plays acted by them before his Majesty, in October, and February 1635 (viz.) Two at £. 20 a piece, being at Hampton-court; the other at £. 10. being at St. James's.

15th March 163⁶—A warrant for £. 240, unto his Majesty's players—viz. £. 210. for 21 plays, acted by them at £. 10 a play:—And £. 30 more, for a new play called *the Royal Slave*.

to the playets, who as royal servants
were

10th May 1637—A warrant for the payment of £. 150, unto Mr. Christopher Beeston, for plays acted by the Queen's servants—(viz.) Four at Hampton-court, at £. 20 per play, in 1635. — Five at Whitehall in the same year; and two plays acted by the New Company.

15 March 1637 $\frac{7}{8}$ —A warrant for £. 150 unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor and Elliardt Swanston, or any of them, for themselves, and the rest of the company of his Majesty's players, for 14 plays acted before his Majesty, between the 30th of September and the 3d of February following, 1637.—One whereof was at Hampton-court, for which £. 20 is allowed; the rest at the usual allowance of £. 10 a play.

21st March 1637 $\frac{8}{9}$ —A warrant for £. 40 unto Joseph Moore, for himself and the rest of the Prince's players, for three plays acted before his Highness, &c. in November, and December last: One whereof was at Richmond, for which was allowed £. 20, in consideration of their travel, and remove of goods.

12th March 1638 $\frac{8}{9}$ —Forasmuch as his Majesty's servants, the company at the Blackfryers, have by special command, at divers times within the space of this present year 1638; acted 24 plays before his Majesty; six whereof have been performed at Hampton-court, and Richmond, by means whereof, they were not only at the loss of their day at home, but at extraordinary charges, by travelling, and carriage of their goods; in consideration whereof they are to have £. 20 a piece, for those plays; and £. 10 a piece, for the other 18 acted at Whitehall, which in the
whole

were protected from arrests, by frequent interpositions;

whole amounteth to the sum of £. 300.—These are therefore to pray and require you out of his Majesty's treasure, in your charge, to pay or cause to be paid unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor; and Elliardt Swanston, or any one of them, for themselves, and the rest of the aforesaid company, of his Majesty's players, the said sum of £. 300, for acting the aforesaid 24 plays.—And these &c.

6th March 1639/40—A warrant for £. 80, unto Henry Turner &c. the Queen's players, for seven plays by them acted at court in 1638, & 1639; whereof £. 20 for one play at Richmond.

4th April 1640—A warrant for £. 230, unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Elliardt Swanston for themselves and the rest of the company of the players, for one and twenty plays, acted before their Majesty's, whereof two at Richmond, for which they are allowed £. 20 a piece; and for the rest £. 10 a piece; all these being acted between the 6th of August 1639, and the 11th of Feby following.

4th May 1640—A warrant for £. 60 unto the company of the Prince's players (viz.) to Joseph Moore and Andrew Kayne [Kane, or Cane] for themselves and the rest, for 3 plays by them acted at Richmond, at £. 20 each play, in consideration of their travelling expences, and loss of the days at home, these in the month of November.—Mem.—Their bill was testified by Mr. Ayton, the Prince's Gent. Usher.

20th March 1640/1—A warrant for £. 160 unto the King's players, for plays acted before his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince, between the 10th of November

(u) interpositions; and who, in return, adhered to the King's side, during the civil wars, which involved all, in a common ruin. Sir Henry Herbert enjoyed his full share both of the pleasures, and distresses, of those times.

The Master of the Revels seems to have exercised an authority over the press, as well as over the players: And, by virtue of some power, which he probably derived from the Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert often licensed, during that period, the printing of plays, and poetry. The same Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, who patronized Shakspeare, as the *player-editors* inform us, also endeavoured, though without success, to prevent the stealing of his manuscripts, the corruption of his writings, and the disgrace of the poet, by surreptitious printing. Lord Pembroke's brother, and successor, in office, made a new effort, in 1637, on the complaint of the players, to prevent the illicit printing of the plays, which *they had purchased at dear rates*, by addressing an official

ber 1640, and the 22d of February 1640/1 to be paid to John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Ellardt Swanston or any of them.

(u) In the same MS book, there are many *tickets* of privilege to the players, and *the dependants on the players*.

edict

ediēt to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' company (v).

The

(v) *The Lord Chamberlain's ediēt against printing plays.*
[From a MS. book in his office.]

After my hearty commendations:—Whereas complaint was heretofore presented to my dear brother and predecessor by his Majesty's servants the players, that some of the Company of Printers and Stationers had procured published and printed divers of their books of Comedies Tragedies Interludes Histories and the like which they had (for the special service of his Majesty and for their own use) bought and provided at very deare and high rates: By means whereof not only they themselves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption to the injury and disgrace of the authors; And thereupon the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers were advised by my brother to take notice thereof and to take order for the stay of any further impression of any of the plays or Interludes of his Majesty's servants; without their consents; which being a caution given with such respect, and grounded on such weighty reasons, both for his Majesty's service, and the particular interest of the players, and so agreeable to common justice, and that indifferent measure, which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been presumed that there would have needed no further Order or direction in the business: Notwithstanding which I am informed that some Copies of Plays belonging to the King, and Queen's Servants, the players, and purchased by them at deare rates, having been lately stolen or gotten from them by indirect means are now attempted to be printed and that some of them are at your presses, and ready to be printed, which if it should be suffered would directly tend to their apparent detriment and great prejudice and to the disenabling of them to do their

The printers, however, were not the only persons, who surreptitiously appropriated *the goods* of other owners. The players, and the directors of players, stole from one another.

Majesties service: For prevention and redress whereof, it is desired that Order be given and entered by the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers, that if any plays be already entred, or shall hereafter be brought unto the Hall, to be entred for printing, that notice thereof be given to the King's and Queen's servants the players, and an inquiry made of them to whom they do belong. And that none be suffered to be printed untill the assent of their Majesty's said servants be made appear to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers by some Certificate in Writing under the hands of John Lowen and Joseph Taylor for the King's servants, and of Christopher Biefton for the King's and Queen's young company or of such other persons as shall from time to time have the direction of those Companies, which is a course that can be hurtfull unto none, but such as go about unjustly to avail themselves of others goods, without respect of Order, or good government, which I [am] confident you will be careful to avoid: And therefore I commend it to your special care and if you shall have need of any further authority or power either from his Majesty or the Council-table the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to me either by yourselves or by the players, I will endeavour to apply that further remedy thereto which shall be requisite. And so &c. Dated the 10th of June, 1637. P.[embroke] and M.[ontgomery.]

To the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers. }

The Master of the Revels tried, without success, to prevent this *petty larceny*. Complaints were made, when other measures failed, to the Lord Chamberlain, who supposed himself, because he was supposed by others, to be omnipotent over the theatric world. And, he issued to the puny rulers of the dramatic states, his imperative mandates, which, as they were sometimes enforced by imprisonment, were generally obeyed as *biting laws* (w).

Yet,

(w) Whereas William Bieston Gent. Governor &c. of the King's and Queen's Young Company of Players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, hath represented unto his Majesty, that the severall plays hereafter mentioned (viz.) Witt without Money; The Night Walkers; The Knight of the burning Pestill; Fathers owne Sonne; Cupids Revenge; The Bondman; The Renegado; A New way to pay Debts; The Great Duke of Florence; The Maid of Honor; The Traytor; The Example; The Young Admirall; The Opportunity; A Witty fayre one; Loves Cruelty; The Wedding; The Maids Revenge; The Lady of Pleasure; The Schoole of Complement; The grateful Servant; The Coronation; Hide Parke; Philip Chabot Admiral of France; A Mad Couple well mett; All's los by Lust; The Changeling; A fayre Quarrell; The Spanish Gypsie; The World; The Sunnes Darling; Love's Sacrifice; Tis Pitty shee's a Whore; George a greene; Loves Mistres; The Cunning Lovers; The Rape of Lucrese; A Trick to cheat the Devill; A Foole and her Maydenhead soon parted; King John and Matilda; A Citty Night Cap; The

Yet, it sometimes required the authority of the Lord Chamberlain, and the penalty of imprisonment, to oblige the managers of play-houses to obey the accustomed powers of the Master of the Revels; so obstinate is interest, when opposed to duty. William Beeston, who seems to have succeeded his father Christopher Beeston, in the management of the *young players* at the Cockpit, in Drury-lane, was thus induced to disobey the orders of the Master of the Revels; performing a forbidden play, "which had relation to the passages of the King's journey into the North; whereof his Majesty complained" to Sir Henry Her-

Bloody Banquett; Cupid's Vagaries; The Conceited Duke; and Appins and Virginia; do all and every of them properly and of right belong to the said house; and consequently, that they are all in his propriety.—And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London shall not presume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the said William Beeston and his company.—His Majesty hath signified his royal pleasure unto me thereby requiring me to declare so much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any ways to intermeddle with, or act any of the above mentioned plays.—Whereof I require all masters and governors of playhouses, and all others whom it may concern to take notice and to forbear to impeach the said William Beeston in the premisses as they tender his Majesty's displeasure, and will answer the contempt. Dated the 10th of August 1639. [From a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office.]

bert.

bert. The Lord Chamberlain issued his official edict against him (x). Beeston was committed to the Marshalsey, by virtue of his warrant, for playing without a license; yet, he was in a few days discharged, on making a formal submission to scenic power.

(x) The following is a copy of the Lord Chamberlain's order, from a MS. book in his office:—

Whereas William Beeston and the company of players of the Cockpit in Drury-lane have lately acted a new play without any license from the Master of his Majesty's Revells, and being commanded to forbear playing or acting of the same play by the said Master of the Revells, and commanded likewise to forbear all manner of playing, have notwithstanding in contempt of the authority of the said Master of the Revells and the power granted unto him under the great seal of England acted the said play and others to the prejudice of his Majesty's service and in contempt of the office of the Revells [whereby] he, and they, and all other companies, ever have been and ought to be governed and regulated; These are therefore in his Majesty's name and signification of his royal pleasure to command the said William Beeston and the rest of that company of the Cockpit players from henceforth and upon sight hereof to forbear to act any plays whatsoever until they shall be restored by the said Master of the Revells unto their former liberty. Whereof all parties concernable are to take notice and conform accordingly as they and every of them will answer it at their peril. Dated the 3^d. of May 1640.

To W^m Beeston, George Estoteville }
and the rest of the Company of Players }
at the Cockpit in Drury-lane, } :

L 1 3

But,

But, his rebellion against authority seems not to have been soon forgotten. He was not long after superseded in his management, by a person, who had more interest than Beeston; because he knew better how to please. This was William D'Avenant, the *lawful* son of John D'Avenant, vintner, in Oxford, the *supposed* son of Shakspeare, and the opponent of Sir Henry Herbert. D'Avenant was born, in February 160 $\frac{5}{8}$; and entered of Lincoln college, Oxford, in 1621: But, leaving the university, without a degree, became first the page of the Duchess of Richmond, then an attendant on Lord Brook, and afterwards a servant of the Queen. As a dramatic writer, he published *Albovine*, in 1629; the *Cruel Brother*, in 1630; the *Just Italian*, in 1630; the *Temple of Love*, in 1634; the *Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour*, in 1635; the *Platonic Lovers*, in 1636; the *Wits*, in 1636; *Britannia Triumphant*, in 1637: And, on the 13th of December, 1638, an annuity of £. 100. was settled on him, by Charles the first; "in consideration of services done, and to be done." On the 26th of March 1639, he was authorized, by a patent under the great seal, as we learn from Rymer, to erect a playhouse, in Fleet-street: But, from this project, D'Ave-

nant

nant soon desisted; because his attention was immediately drawn to an object of less risque, and of more easy execution. On the 27th of June 1640, he was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain to take into his government the theatre, called the Cockpit, in Drury-lane (y).

But,

(y) The following *appointment* was copied from a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office. Mr. Malone has misdated this document, in 1639, instead of 1640. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. pag. 237.]

“ Whereas in the playhouse or theatre commonly called the Cockpit in Drury-lane there are a company of players or actors authorised by me (as Lord Chamberlain to his Majesty) to play or act under the title of the King's and Queen's servants, and that by reason of some disorders lately amongst them committed they are disabled in their service and quality: These are therefore to signify that by the same authority I do authorise and appoint William Davenant Gent. one of her Majesty's servants, for me, and in my name, to take into his government and care the said company of players, to govern, order, and dispose of them for action and presentments and all their affairs in the said house as in his discretion shall seem best to conduce to his Majesty's service in that quality. And I do hereby enjoin and command them, all and every of them, that are so authorised to play in the said house under the privilege of his or her Majesty's servants, and every one belonging as prentices or servants to those actors to play under the said privilege, that they obey the said M^r. Davenant and follow his orders and directions as they will answer the contrary; which power or privilege he is to continue and enjoy during that lease which M^{rs}. Eli-

But, this authority, however agreeable to him, he did not long enjoy; being involved in the contests of the times, which ended in accusation, and imprisonment.

In all those measures, whether favourable, or adverse, Sir Henry Herbert enjoyed his appropriate share. During that period, he partook of the mingled pleasure of correcting every new play before it was presented; and received a fee of forty shillings, for his pains. He received also, as Master of the Revels, from the established playhouses, a Summer, and a Winter, benefit, which yielded him nine pounds each, according to an average of years. In October 1629, by an agreement with the King's company, which lasted till the civil wars began, he received, in lieu of benefits, ten pounds at Christmas, and the same sum at Midsummer. He was paid also particular gratuities for special services, which he received for the last time, in June 1642; as the civil war was already begun. And, he possesseth what seems to have been a necessary append-

zabeth Bieston alias Hucheson hath or doth hold in the said playhouse: Provided he be still accountable to me for his care and well ordering the said company—Given under my hand and seal this 27th. June 1640."

P.[embroke] and M.[ontgomery.]

age of his office, an appropriate box in the established theatres (z).

In the period, from 1623 to 1643, the monarch of the Revels exercised, like the monarch over the state, unbounded authority over the dramatic world. During the unhappy times, from 1642, to 1660, his authority over pastimes ceased; while all lawful power was impugned, and all innocent pastime was decried. With the restoration of the constitutional magistrate, the Master of the Revels, assumed his former jurisdiction, but was surprised to find, that the unqualified licentiousness of recent times had given men new habits of reasoning, notions of privileges, and propensities to resistance. During this sensation, he applied to the courts of justice for redress; but the contradictory verdicts of juries left *contention, by contraries, to execute all things*. The ruler of the pastimes now appealed to the ruler of the state; but without receiving redress, or exciting sympathy. Mutual vexations produced at length, in the dramatic world, mutual agreement; as the same cause had already produced the same effect, in the political world. But, like other disputed jurif-

(z) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. pp. 144—153—154—237.

dictions, and other weak governments, the authority of the Master of the Revels continued to be oppressive in its superintendance, until *the Revolution* taught new lessons to all parties.

Soon after his advancement to the vice-royalty of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert settled with his family, at Woodford in Essex; where, he kindly received; in 1629, his brother George, who was afflicted with an ague; as Walton inform us. Sir Henry resided at Chelsea, during the civil wars (*a*). And in those

(*a*) It appears, from the parish register of Chelsea, says Lýtson, [Environs, vol. ii. p. 127,] that Richard, the second son of Sir Henry Herbert, was baptized, on the 25th of February 1657, and died under age. There is an anecdote preserved by Wood [Ath. vol. ii. col. 700,] which, as it is characteristic of Charles 1st; during the trying scenes of his last days, and does honour to Sir Henry, ought to be remembered: "It may not be forgotten," says Wood, "that Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, a gentleman in ordinary of his Majesty's privy-chamber (one that cordially loved and honoured the King, and during the war, had suffered considerably in his estate by sequestration and otherwise) meeting Mr. Thomas Herbert his kinsman in St. James's park, first inquired how his Majesty did, and afterwards presenting his duty to him, with assurance, that himself with many other of his Majesty's servants did frequently pray for him, desired that his Majesty would be pleased to read the second chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* ;

" for

those times, he acquired, though I know not by what means, the manor of Ribbesford, in Warwickshire. By the influence, which he thereby obtained over Bewdley, he was chosen by that borough a member of the parliament, which met in 1661; though he immediately vacated his seat, for the accomodation of his son Henry, who long represented this town, wherein they had many messuages. Sir Henry kept the office of the Revels in Cary-House, during his disputes with Thomas Killigrew, Sir William D'Avenant, John Rhodes, and the other proprietors of theatres, in 1660, 1661, and 1662. Killigrew, who probably had cast his eye on the same office, entered into an agreement of *amity for life* with Sir Henry; promised payment of damages for the past; and submission to scenic authority for the future:—Sir Henry engaging, to support Killigrew, if necessity should require assist-

“ for he should find comfort in it, aptly suiting to his present condition. Accordingly Mr Herbert acquainted the King therewith, who thanked Sir Harry, and commended him for his excellent parts, being a good scholar, foldier, and accomplished courtier; and for his many years faithful service much valued by the King, who presently turned to that chapter, and read it with much satisfaction.”

ance.

ance (*b*). The other theatrical managers were more litigious; because they had less to hope, and more to fear, than Killigrew. The litigants might have all exclaimed with Confidence: "When law can do no right, let it be lawful, that law bar no wrong." The truth is, that on the one side, there was a patent, under the great seal, with ancient custom, and a sense of injury;—on the other side, there was a license, under the privy signet, with new modes of thinking, sensibility of oppression, and feelings of want.—While the ancient authority of the ruler of the Revels was thus shaken to its base, he was neither supported by the King, who had many claimants to gratify; nor countenanced by the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Manchester, who was no friend to pastimes, and probably looked at the office with envy (*c*).

(*b*) See the agreement, which is curious, in *Mal. Shak.* vol. i. part ii. p. 262.

(*c*) The Master of the Revels was obliged to relinquish his claims, in consequence of those litigations, says Mr. Malone, and his office ceased to be attended with either authority or profit. [*Shak.* vol. i. part ii. p. 258.] This position is too broad: His authority was certainly shaken, without overthrow; and his profits were lessened, without being absolutely lost.

Sir

Sir Henry Herbert was now well stricken in years; he was mortified by discountenance, and irritated by opposition. He retired, accordingly, to his independent seat at Ribbesford, leaving a deputy, no doubt, to exercise a disputed authority, and to receive litigated fees. He here enjoyed a respected old age, during the happiest period of his life. And, he died on the 27th of April 1673; leaving to his son considerable possessions, and to two daughters handsome (*d*) fortunes; including,

(*d*) His will is dated on the 1st of Jañry 167 $\frac{2}{3}$; a codicil was added on the 9th of April; and both were proved, in the prerogative-court, on the 15th of May, by Henry Herbert, Sir Francis Lawley, and William Harbord his executors. Sir Henry Herbert married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Robert Offley of High Arcol. His son Henry was created Lord Herbert of Cherbery, by a patent dated the 28th April 1694; the elder branch having failed in 1691: This peerage became again extinct, on the death of Sir Henry's son, Henry, without issue in 1738. The manor of Ribbesford, thereupon, passed to Henry Morley, a descendant of the Master of the Revels, who took the name and arms of Herbert. In consequence of all those family failures, there remained at Ribbesford nothing of the Herbert's but the *Old Chest*, which contained the life of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbery, that was published by the Earl of Orford; and the office-book of Sir Henry; containing many scenic particulars, that were given to the world by Mr. Malone; being enabled to gratify curiosity, by the liberal communication of Mr. Francis Ingram of Ribbesford.

by

by special bequest, the debts, due to him from Charles 1st, and Charles 2d; which were paid, during the reign of Anne.

The office of the Revels was immediately filled by Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of the King's bedchamber; by means, probably, of a reversionary patent. The new Master of the Revels was the son of Sir Robert Killigrew, chamberlain to the Queen; and was born at the manor of Hanworth, in February 1611. Of Thomas Killigrew, Wood delights to tell, that *he was not educated at any university*. He was appointed page of honour to Charles 1st; to whom, in his various fortunes, he faithfully adhered. Attending Charles 2d in his exile, he contributed, by his convivial humour, to alleviate the pressures of penury. In this situation, he cultivated dramatic poetry, though without much success, whatever were his diligence. In 1651, Killigrew was sent to Venice, as resident ambassador; contrary to the advice of the graver servants of Charles 2d, says Clarendon. As a negotiator, he did neither honour to his master, nor credit to himself. His return was celebrated by Denham, in the following airy verses; which are at once characteristic of the writer, and of the subject:—

*

“ Our

- " Our resident Tom
 " From Venice is come,
 " And has left all the statesman behind him;
 " Talks at the same pitch,
 " Is as wise, is as rich,
 " And just where you left him, you find him.
 " But, who says he's not
 " A man of much plot,
 " May repent of this false accusation;
 " Having *plotted*, and penn'd,
 " Six plays to attend
 " On the *Farce* of his Negotiation (e)."

Killigrew returned to England at *the Restoration*; when his conviviality was at length heightened by enjoyment, and his prospects were brightened by hope. He was soon appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles 2d; and, continuing in high favour with the King, he is said to have had access, which his office doubtless gave him, at times when peers were denied. While Wood commemorates his many generous acts to the suffering Cavaliers, he sourly remarks, that Killigrew was the King's *Jester*. During that joyous season, pastimes were revived, with double relish. A patent, under the King's privy sig-

(e) The Biog. Dram. gives the titles of *seven* dramas, which were written by Thomas Killigrew, in his exile; one of them was probably composed *after* the *Farce* of his *Negotiation*.

net, was granted, on the 11th of August 1660, to Thomas Killigrew, and Sir William D'Avenant; empowering them to erect new play-houses, and to embody two companies, with the sole right of regulation, and the exclusive privilege of acting. Under this (*f*) patent, opposed as it was by Sir Henry Herbert, two companies of actors were immediately formed: Killigrew's was called *The King's Company*; D'Avenant's, *the Duke of York's Company*. Killigrew appointed Mahun, Hart, and Lacy, the superintendants of the King's company; which, removing from the Red-bull to Vere-street, where they began to act, on the 8th of November 1660, afterwards settled in Drury-lane, where they opened their theatre, on the 8th of April 1662. But, success soon begat discontent. The royal company complained to the King, of the obstruction of the Master of the Revels, and of the oppression of the Master of the Theatre. This complaint was referred to the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir John Denham, who reported their opinion

(*f*) This grant is published in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 244. Steevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 397.

to be, that the complaint was groundless (g).
With this judgment, in his favour, and the
agreement

(g) The petition of Mohun, Shatterel, Hart, and other players, against Sir Henry Herbert, and Thomas Killigrew, may be seen in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 248, and in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 402: The subjoined Report, from a copy in the paper-office, in answer to it, will form a proper *supplement* to the *petition*:—

“ May it please your Majesty:

“ According to your Majesty's Command Wee have
“ heard Mr. Killigrew concerning the complaints made
“ against him by the Company in exercising a power beyond
“ your Majesty's Graunt [21st August 1660] And wee
“ find by your Maties' Letters Patent, that your Matie. hath
“ granted to him full and absolute power to make and con-
“ stitute a Company of Actors or Players, to be under his
“ sole government and authority; and that he shall give
“ them respectively such allowances as he shall think fit;
“ and that he hath power to take in, and eject whom he shall
“ think meet. And wee do find that he hath been so far from
“ abusing this power, that he hath made very little use of it
“ hitherto: Only in giving Letters of Attorney to Moone
“ [Mohun] Hart, and Lacy, to be superintendants over the
“ rest, who by virtue of that power have taken in one share,
“ three quarters of which they have enjoyed these ten months,
“ and imposed on the Company £. 200 p ann. for two hired
“ men; so that having upon complaint of the rest of the
“ Company recalled that Letter of Attorney, and given up
“ the three quarters of the share to the Company, which
“ saves them the £. 200 p ann. all, that he pretends to, is
“ only the share of Bird, who is dead, by which the Company
“ are gainers; for had the Letter of Attorney continued, the

M m

“ Company

agreement of *amity* with Sir Henry Herbert, in his pocket, Killigrew found leisure to publish his dramas in 1664, with *his picture* prefixed to them; as Wood remarks. He now passed his time merrily; being pleased himself, and endeavouring to please (*b*) others; till the Mastership of the Revels was actually transferred to him, by the demise of Sir Henry Herbert. He immediately announced his accession to this power; which he was active

“ Company had not only lost the profit of that share, but this
 “ also. For by his power they that took the other share
 “ would have enjoyed this; The unreasonableness of their
 “ exceptions is, they have profited these twelve months by
 “ that same power, which now they dispute; which if he
 “ can give, he may certainly enjoy. All which power he
 “ pretends to, is confessed under their hands and seals, and
 “ they have acted by it these ten months.

“ E. Manchester.

“ Lauderdaill.

“ Jo. Denham.”

(*b*) In a document, which is preserved in the paper-office, I observe the following payments in 1667:—

To the keeper of the theatre at Whitehall	£. 30	—	—
To the same for keeping clean that place,			
<i>p</i> ann.	—	—	6 — —
To Mr. Thomas Killigrew's bill for plays,			
acted before his Majesty	—	—	560 — —
To Sir William D'Avenant for plays acted			
before the King	—	—	450 — —
			<hr/>

to enforce, by the most effectual means (*i*).
The union of the two functions, of Master of

(*i*) In the London Gazette, N^o 778, from Thursday May 1st to Monday May 5th, [1673] appeared the following advertisement:—

“ The office of the Master of the Revels, void by the
“ death of Sir Henry Herbert, who deceased on the 27th of
“ April last, is now enjoyed by Thomas Killigrew, Esqr.
“ one of the Grooms of his Majesty’s bedchamber, at whose
“ lodgings in Whitehall, any Person, or Persons, may be in-
“ formed, where those who had any licenses from the said Sir
“ Henry, or are otherwise concerned in the said Office of
“ Master of the Revels, may make their applications for re-
“ newing of former, or taking out of new licenses, or what
“ else relates unto the said office.”—This advertisement
was repeated in the Gazette N^o 780.—And in N^o 782, there
was the following advertisement, which was repeated in the
Gazette N^o 785.—“ That all Justices of the Peace and others
“ his Majesty’s Officers, whom it may concern, do take care
“ that all persons, that present publickly any playes, shoves,
“ or operations, upon any stage &c. may produce their li-
“ cense, under the hand and *seal*, of Thomas Killigrew, Esqr.
“ now Master of the Revels; and in case they want such li-
“ censes, that they be lay’d hold on, and the said Mr. Killigrew
“ certified of the same.”—The *seal*, or rather the *stamp* of Kil-
ligrew, as Master of the Revels, has come down to the present
time. The *wooden block*, which formed this *stamp* has been re-
trieved by the active discernment of Mr. Douce, who kindly
permitted me to have a new stamp made for a TAIL-PIECE
to this Apology; thinking the impression might gratify the
lovers of the drama. The double eagle displayed, and the
lion, are the arms, and crest of the Killigrews. The legend
is copied from the formal words of the ancient commissions
to the Masters of the Revels. See Carew’s Cornwall. Ed.
1769, p. 150.

the Revels, and Manager of a Theatre, gave Killigrew a pretence to do mischief, without any incitement to do good. He lived to see the two companies united, in 1682; after various accidents, from the plague, and fire, and several revolutions, from the changes of fashion, Thomas Killigrew, died in March 168²/₃; and was buried, by his dying request, in the vault under Westminster-abbey; near his beloved wife, and his sister, Lady Shannon (*k*). Denham has left a couplet, which acutely discriminates the faculties of two of the wittiest men of that age:—

“ Had Cowley ne'er spoke, Killigrew ne'er writ,

“ Combin'd in one, they'd made a matchless wit.”

After a while, the sceptre of the Revels was delivered into the hand of Charles Killi-

(*k*) His will is dated on the 15th of March, and was proved in the prerogative-court, on the 19th of the same month, by his son, Henry, his executor, and residuary legatee. He left some houses in Scotland-yard; and he speaks of a pension from the King, which may possibly have been an extra-salary, as Master of the Revels. He is said, by the biographers, to have had two wives; but he speaks in his will of only one beloved wife. In the will, there is no jest. Thomas Killigrew was uncle to Henry Bennet, the first Earl of Arlington, who succeeded the Earl of St. Albans, as Lord Chamberlain, on the 11th of September 1674. The conviviality of the one, and the power of the other, may have promoted each other's views.

grew.

grew. He was born, in 1650; but of what parentage, I could not learn, in the college of heralds. He was early in life appointed Gentleman Usher to Queen Catherine, while Sir William Killigrew, the elder brother of the former Master of the Revels, was Vice-chamberlain to the same Queen. This coincidence of appointment and name shows a proximity of blood, and sameness of interest. The unsuccessful complaint of the King's company, against *Thomas* Killigrew, probably induced him to place *Charles* Killigrew at the head of his discontented troop, as their superintendent. Charles Killigrew appeared, as the chief of that company, when they complained of Dryden about the year 1678, for his breach of (1) contract, in furnishing *his goods*. Charles Killigrew was, afterwards, appointed Comptroller of the receipts and payments of the Receiver General of the Customs. He seems to have been too prudent a man to distinguish himself, like the other Killigrews, either as a writer, or a wit. But, he diligently attended to the discharge of his several trusts, and the accumulation of considerable wealth. He

(1) Stevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 286.

died, in January 1725, when he had advanced to seventy-five (*m*) years of age.

Acting as Ruler of the Revels, during five reigns, he lived to see various changes of *many coloured life*. He probably exercised such power only, from 1683 to 1689, as had been left him by his predecessor. But, *the Revolution* gave a new cast to the several parts of our government; in the church; in the state; and in our pastimes. While the power of the King was softened into influence, the authority of the Lord Chamberlain remained, without restriction, over the theatre; opening, and shutting, playhouses; imprisoning, and liberating, players; correcting, and rejecting, plays: The scenic world looked up to the Lord Chamberlain, as the sun of their system. In their *heavens*, the Master of the Revels twinkled, only, as a star of the lower order. Yet, this star continued still to have its influ-

(*m*) Charles Killigrew, who resided in Somerset-house, made his will on the 30th of May 1723; which was proved in the prerogative-office on the 4th of January 17 $\frac{2}{3}$ by his son Guilford, his executor. His wife Jemima, and his other son, Charles, survived him. Among several manors, his resident mansion was Thornham-hall in Suffolk; he had large sums in the public stocks: And he had an interest in the patent of the theatre-royal, in Drury-lane; as appears by his will,

ence in the revolutions of the drama. The aid of the Master of the Revels contributed greatly to the celebrated conquest, which COLLIER gained over the *immorality*, and *profaneness*, of the stage, at the conclusion of King William's reign. Even *modest* Cibber acknowledges, that "the Master of the Revels, who then *licensed* all plays for the stage, assisted this reformation, with a more zealous severity than ever (n). This utility of the office ceased, however, on the accession of George 1st; when a new patent, which was made out with as little caution, as any preceding grant of the same kind, was conferred on Sir Richard Steel, Colley Cibber, and their associates; for acting plays, without submitting them to the li-

(n) Apology 225: "He would strike out," continues Cibber, "whole scenes of a vicious, or immoral character, though it were visibly shown to be reformed, or punished; a severe instance of this kind falling upon myself may be an excuse for my relating it: When *Richard the third* (as I altered it from Shakspeare) came from his hands to the stage. [1700] he expunged the whole first act, without sparing a line of it. He had an objection to the whole act, and the reason he gave for it was, that the distressed of King *Henry the sixth*, who is killed by *Richard*, in the first act, would put weak people too much in mind of King *James* then living in France; a notable proof of his zeal for the government!"—Well might Pope cry out, *modest* Cibber!

cense, or revision, of any officer. Charles Killigrew, as Master of the Revels, demanded his fee of forty shillings, on presenting every new play. With affected independence of his authority, they refused his demand, and denied submission to his power. The patentees sent Colley Cibber, as envoy-extraordinary, to negotiate an amicable settlement with the Sovereign of the Revels. It is amusing to hear, how this flippant negotiator explained his own pretensions, and attempted to invalidate the right of his opponent; as if a subsequent charter, under the great seal, could supersede a preceding grant under the same authority. Charles Killigrew, who was now sixty-five years of age, seems to have been oppressed by the insolent civility of Colley Cibber. "And from that time," says the apologist for his own life, "neither our plays or [nor] his fees, gave either of us any further trouble (*o*)."

The unfortunate issue of this negotiation did not, it should seem, make the office of Master of the Revels less desirable, though it was certainly less profitable, and important. On the 25th of June 1725, Charles Henry Lee was placed on the disputed throne (*p*).

(*o*) Apology, p. 227-8.

(*p*) Hist. Register.

During

During his reign of nineteen years, the new ruler exercised such authority, as was not opposed, and received such fees, as were willingly paid. And, in January 1744, he died, as obscurely, as he had (*q*) lived; leaving a *minor* widow, without children.

It was during his feeble government, that an event occurred, which formed a new epoch in dramatic story. Then it was, that the act for *licensing the stage* was passed (*r*). The origin of this salutary measure has been traced up to various sources:—To the acting of *Pasquin* at the Haymarket-theatre, without a license, by Henry Fielding; in opposition to custom, and in defiance of power (*s*): To a Farce, called the *Golden Rump*; which, having been brought to Gifford, the master of the

(*q*) I have not seen his death mentioned in the printed registers. But, on the 24th of January 1744, administration was granted of the effects of Charles Henry Lee to Elizabeth D'Aranda, widow, the mother, and curatrix, assigned to Martha Lee, the widow of the deceased, for the use of the minor-widow. [Minute-book in the prerogative-office.]

(*r*) 10 Geo. 2. ch. 28, which took place on the 24th of June 1737. This act was extended to houses and gardens of entertainment, which, in future were not to be kept without a license. [25 Geo. 2. ch. 36. § 2.]

(*s*) Cibber's Apology, 231: Biog. Dram. Introd. xli.

theatre

theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields, was by him carried to the proper magistrate; thinking it a (*t*) libel, or a *trap*. These occurrences were probably the ostensible, rather than the real, causes, which produced that parliamentary regulation. The fact is, that Sir John Barnard, on the 5th of March 1734-5, moved the House of Commons, for leave to introduce a bill, for restraining the number of playhouses, and for regulating common players. As he was supported by all parties, his motion passed unanimously. But, the bill was no sooner introduced, than it was relinquished; "when a clause was proposed for enlarging the power of the Lord Chamberlain, with regard to licensing plays (*u*)." The Lord Chamberlain's power had been long exerted, with capricious irregularity; his real authority had been felt; but when that power drew on it

(*t*) Timberland's Debates, 1742. vol. v. p. 211: And see the article of *The Golden Rump*, in the Biog. Dram. vol. ii.

(*u*) Chandler's Debates, vol. ix. p. 93-4: It was said, in the House of Commons, on that occasion, that there were then no fewer than six playhouses; "The opera-house, the French playhouse in the Haymarket, and the theatres in Covent-garden, Drury-lane, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and Goodman's-fields; and that these were double the number, which, at the same time, existed in Paris."

the

the eye of jealousy, it was found to be unequal to the useful purpose of scenic superintendance : And, the imprudence of former grants to theatrical managers was, probably, now recollected with official regret.

Owing to all those causes, the *bill for licensing the stage*, though under a different name, was, on the 21st June 1737, hastily passed, after various debates, which disclosed little information about the history of the theatre : It was argued, without contradiction, that a power was to be given by it to the Lord Chamberlain, which he had never exercised, during the existence of his dramatic government, from the first regulations of Elizabeth, to the introduction of this necessary law. The speech, which Lord Chesterfield made against that unpopular, but useful, measure, has been, singly, *put by Time into his wallet, as alms for oblivion*. During those debates, it was forgotten, that a period never existed, when the stage was not subject to superintendance ; when players were not licensed ; when plays were not reviewed and corrected, allowed or rejected. The wise regulations of Elizabeth, for allowing the use, but correcting the abuse, of the stage, were equally forgotten ; though she had been advised, by Walsingham, and as-

sisted

sisted by Burghley. The facts, which I have detailed through every reign, evince, with sufficient conviction, that this act of parliament merely restored to the Lord Chamberlain the ancient authority, which he possessed, before the appointment of the Master of the Revels; armed him with legal power, in the place of customary privilege; and enabled him to execute, by warrantable means, the useful, but invidious trusts, which experience had long required, and policy at length conferred. Nor, was this the first time, that the parliament exercised its legislative authority over the stage, from its infancy under Henry 8th, to its manhood under George 2nd (v). This licensing act, however, neither noticed, nor alluded to the Master of the Revels, any more than if he had not existed. Having neither licensed players, from the days of Sir Henry

(v) In 1543, the 34-5 Hen. 8. ch. 1. was passed for "purging the kingdom of all *religious* plays, interludes, "rhymes, ballads, and songs, which were *pestiferous* to the "common-weal:"—The 39 Eliz. ch. 4. which was explained by 1 Ja. 1. ch. 7. and 7 Ja. 1. ch. 4, gave a very extensive jurisdiction over players.—The 3 Ja. 1. ch. 21. imposed a penalty on any person, profanely using the name of God in a play.—The 1 Cha. 1. ch. 21. prohibited plays on the Lord's day.—And the long-parliament suppressed playhouses and players. [Scobell, 1647—97—106—109.]

Herbert,

Herbert, nor reviewed plays, subsequent to Colley Cibber's polite altercation with Charles Killigrew, the Master of the Revels seems, like more *mighty potentates*, to have been *grated to dusty nothing*.

At this epoch, Charles, Duke of Grafton, was Lord Chamberlain. A new arrangement now became necessary, for executing his renovated power: And, William Chetwynd, who had been envoy at Genoa, during the reign of Queen Anne, was, in April 1738, sworn in *Licenser of the Stage*, with a salary of four hundred pounds a year; while Thomas Odell, a person, who is better known in theatrical annals, was named his deputy; with a yearly allowance of two hundred pounds (*w*). Yet, in April 1744, Solomon Dayrolle was appointed Master of the Revels, in the room of the deceased Charles Lee, though nothing seemed now to remain, either of power, or of profit, but the ancient fee of £. 10, which had been usually paid at the Exchequer, and a lodging. As this office was no longer recorded in the red-book, nor looked at in St. Stephen's chapel, with envious eyes, it seems to

(*w*) In the Biog. Dramatica, there is a good account of Odell, who held this invidious office, till his death, in May 1749.

have escaped notice, at the great epoch of the suppression of offices (x). The Master of the Revels, however, when he looked up from his state of degradation to the pre-eminence of the Lord Chamberlain, might have repeated what was said by the tribune, Brutus, when *the bleak'd sights were spectacl'd* to see Coriolanus enter Rome:—

“ Then, our office may,

“ During his power, go sleep.”

Such was the early origin, the irregular progress, and the obscure demise of the Master of the Revels! And, this theatrical deduction, the believers beg leave to submit to the *considerate eyes* of this court, as a supplemental apology, for their imputed ignorance of the history of the stage. Yet, such is the activity of the public accuser's pleasure, or revenge, that he not only prosecutes them, in his waking hours, but, when *he dreams*, his *wall-ey'd wrath* insists, “ that each of these “ *credulous partisans* of folly and imposture “ should remain—*Sacred to ridicule his whole* “ *life long* (y).” Though *dreams are the chil-*

(x) In 1782, by the 22 Geo. 3. ch. 82. Mr. Dayrolle, who still retained his station, died in 1786, and was succeeded in his degraded office by John Charles Crowle, who did not thereby enjoy either the gratification of power, or the benefits of profit.

(y) Inquiry, pp. 355—366.

dren of an idle brain; yet, for this once, I will be squared by his shadow of a dream: And, accordingly, with the leave of this court, I will superadd, what is not unprecedented in his own practice, *An Appendix* to this *Supplemental Apology*:—

“ ——— For, pleasure, and revenge,

“ Have ears more deaf, than adders, to the voice

“ Of any true decision.”

— § XI. —

OF THE STUDIES OF SHAKSPEARE.

On opening Mr. Malone's *attempt to ascertain the order, in which the plays of Shakspeare were written*, we may observe the Inquirer's lamentation that, “ after the most diligent inquiries very few particulars have been re-
“ covered of Shakspeare's private life, or literary history.” Amidst this penury of information, and regret of criticism, every notice, which can illustrate his *literary history*, ought to be sedulously sought for, and attentively considered. Where he studied, who instructed him, and what he read, are inquiries, that have sometimes been made, without obtaining very distinct answers. The great controversy hitherto has been about *the learning* of Shakspeare,

Shakspeare, without much inquiry about his *philology*, or his *knowledge*. The contest about his *learning* is closed for ever. The means, whereby this atchievement was performed, chiefly consisted, in producing *translations* of the various classics, to which he alluded; and in reasoning, that Shakspeare probably read such translations, as he might have read them. The same means, and the same argument, I design to use, in the little, that I have to say about the Studies of Shakspeare.

It was in the free-school of Stratford-upon-Avon, that Shakspeare probably learned his *small Latin*, and *less Greek*. It is of full as much importance to investigate, whence he derived his knowledge of the English language, his *exchequer of words*; the *style*, which is never to become *obsolete*; the *colloquy*, which is above *grossness* and below *refinement*, where *propriety resides*: And, whence he formed that poetic diction, which, among his other excellencies, invites every reader to study Shakspeare, as one of the original masters of our language (a). It ought, moreover, to be remembered, that, as early as 1598, Shakspeare was distinguished, among the poets, who had *mightily enriched the English tongue, and gor-*

(a) Johnson's Preface.

geously invested it in rare ornaments, and resplendent habiliments (b).

Fruitless it, probably, would be, to search for “the A-B-C-book,” which Shakspeare, *while he yet prattl’d pœsie*, was taught by—

“————— the matron old,

“Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame (c).”

When this extraordinary genius was entered in the *free-school* of Stratford, the master could be at no loss for philological *institutes*. The grammar, which Henry the 8th had directed to be used, generally, in such schools would, no doubt, continue to be taught in the country, long after particular seminaries had

(b) Wits Commonwealth, 1598, p. 619.

(c) There was, indeed, printed for Lant, in 1547, The A, B, C, with the Paternoster, Ave, Creede, and Ten Commandments, in Englyshe, newly translated and set forth at the Kinges most gracyous commaundment: It begins with five different alphabets.—In 1552, John Day had a license to print the Catechism, which Edward the 6th had caused to be set forth.—In 1553, Day printed “A short Catechisme, or playne instruction, conteyning the sume of Christian learninge, sett foorth by the Kings Majestie’s authoritie, for all Scholemaisters to teache.” There was prefixed *an injunctiõ to all teachers of youthe* to teach this catechisme in their schooles.—In 1570, Day printed a *Catechisme, or first instruction and learning of Christian Religion: Translated out of Latin into Englishe*. It was dedicated to the Archbishops and Bishops.

adopted the institutes of their founders: As Woolsey's *Rudimenta (d) Grammatices*, in his school at Ipswich; and Collet's grammar, in the seminary of his foundation, in St. Paul's-churchyard. There seems to be, indeed, positive proof, that *Lilly* was the instructor of Shakspeare, in the Latin language, at some period of his life (e). So much had the classic languages been cultivated, from the revival of learning till the epoch of our poet's birth, that such a learner as Shakspeare could easily gratify his curiosity, store his memory, and improve his intellect: Grammars and dictionaries; the artes of rhetorick and criticism; treatises of logick and moral philosophy; had all been published by eminent masters. The polite languages of the neighbouring continent had been familiarized to the students of England (f). Shakspeare had also a fair opportunity

(d) This curious grammar was printed in 1536.

(e) Mal. Shak. vol. iii. p. 263; in which it is shown, by Johnson, Farmer, and Steevens, that the poet had borrowed from the grammarian, and not from Terence. The *Floures for Latine Spekyng*, printed by Berthelet, in 1538, p. 35 b, strengthens their sentiment; by proving, that Shakspeare had not drawn his *latinity* from this fountain.

(f) I will here subjoin such a *List of Grammars, Dictionaries,*

tunity of acquiring a slight knowledge of the
British

naries, and *Artes of Rhetorique*, as Shakspeare probably might have used, either when a boy, or a man :

- 1537—Certain brief rules of the regiment or construction of the eight partes of Speche in English and Latin. It has no author's name, but is joined with a piece of Taverners. 8vo.
- 1544—An Introduction of the eight partes of Speche and the construction of the same, compyled and set forthe by the Commaundement of our most gracious Soueraygne Lorde the Kyng. 4to.
- 1557—A short introduction of Grammar generallie to be used. Compiled and set forth; for the bringyng up of all those that intend to attaine the knowledge of the Latin Tongue.—Imprinted again in 1569;—and again in 1577.
- 1559—Lilly's Latin Grammar.—The 2nd edition in 1564.
- 1563—An Orthographie contaynyng the due Order and Reason how to write or paint th' image of mannis voice most like to the life or nature. Composed By J[ohn] H[art] Chester Herald.
- 1571—The Scholemaster : Or plaine and perfite way of teaching Children, to understand, write, and speak, the Latin tong.—By Roger Ascham :—The 2nd edition in 1589.
- 1573—The English Schoolmaster, set forth by James Bellot for teaching of Strangers to pronounce English.
- 1580—Bullokars Booke at large for the Amendement of Orthographie for English Speech : wherein a most perfect supply is made for the wantes and double founde of letters in the Olde Orthographie, with examples for the same. Imprinted again in 1586.
- 1582—The first part of the Elementarie, which entreateth

British tongue, which, in that age, had its grammars,

chiefly of the right writing of our English Tongue.

—By Richard Mulcaster.

1585—The Latin Grammar of P. Ramus, Translated into English.

1590—A Grammar with a Dictionary, in three languages, gathered out of divers good Authors, very profitable for the studious of the Spanish Tongue. By R. Percivall.

1594—Grammatica Anglicana, præcipuè quatenus à Latina Differt, ad Unicam P. Rami methodum concinnata. Authore P. G.—Cantab. Ex officina. J. Legatt.

1538—The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elliot Knyght: declaring Latin by English. In 1545, Bibliotheca Eliotæ, Latine, et Anglicè.—The 2nd edition enriched by Cooper, in 1552.—Again by Cooper, in 1559. The 4th edit. in 156½. The 5th edit. in 1573.

1552—Abecedarium Anglico Latinum, pro tyrunculis, Richardo Huloeto excriptore.—Reprinted and enlarged in 1572, and entitled Huloet's Dictionary &c.

1558—The Short Dixtionary.

1559—A Little Dictionary compiled by J. Withals.—The 2nd edition imprinted by Wykes in 1568.—The 3d in 1572, entitled A shorte Dictionary most profitable for yong beginners, the second tyme corrected and augmented with diverse Phrases and other things necessarie thereunto added.—By Lewys Evans. It was again reprinted for Evans, in 1579.

grammars, and dictionaries. It is, however,
more

1562—The breste Dyxcyonary.

1575—Veron's Dictionary, Latin, and English.—Again in
1584, entitled *A Dictionarie in Latine and English*, heretofore set forth by Master John Veron, and now newlie corrected and enlarged, for the utilitie and profit of all yong students in the Latine toong as by further search they shall find:—
By R. W.

1580—An Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionarie, containing foure sundrie tongues: namelie, English, Latine, Greeke, and French. Newlie enriched with varietie of wordes, phrascs, proverbs, and divers lightfome observations of Grammar:— By J. Baret.

1589—Rider's Dictionary, Latine, and English.

1592—A Dictionary, Geographicall, Astronomicall, and Poeticall —Imprinted by Wolfe.

1567—Salesbury's Welsh Grammar.

1593—*Grammatica Britannica in usum ejus linguæ studio-
forum succincta methodo et perspicuitate facili
conscripta; & nunc primum in lucem edita:*
Henrico Salesburio, Denbighiensi Autore,

1595—Parry's Welsh Grammar.

1547—A Dictionary in English and Welsh, moche necessary for all suche Welshemen, as wil spedily learne the Englyshe tongue &c, whereunto is prefixed a little treatyse of the English pronounciation of the letters: By Wylliam Salesbury.

1560—A Treatyse English and French right necessarye and profitable for all young Children.

1560—Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar &c, Newly
N n 3 corrected

more than probable, that he did not embrace
this

corrected and imprinted by Wykes:—And again
in 1567.

1561—The Italian Grammar and Dictionary: By W.
Thomas.

1578—Lentulo's Italian Grammar, put into English: By
H^y. Grentham:—And again in 1587.

1590—A Spanish Grammar &c. By Thomas D'Oyley.

1590—Bibliotheca Hispanica, cōtayning a Gramar, with a
Dictionary in three languages, gathered &c. By
R. Percivall.—Reprinted again in 1591.—Again
in 1592.—And again in 1599.

1593—A Dictionary, French, and English: By Claudius
Hollyband.

1598—A Worlde of Wordes, Or most copious, and exact
Dictionarie in Italian and English: collected by
John Florio.

1532—The Arts or Crafe of Rhctoryche:—By Leonard
Cockes.

1547—A Treatise of Moral Philofophy:—By W^m. Bald-
weyn. The 2nd edit. imprinted in 1550:—The
3d edit. in 1560.

1548—The Art of Memory, or The Phoenix.

1552—The rule of reason containing the Arte of Logique.
Set forth in English, and newly corrected by
Thomas Wilson. Reprinted in 1567.

1553—The Art of Rhetorique, for the use of all such as are
studious of Eloquence, set forth in English, by
Thomas Wilson: and newly set forth again in
1567.—and Imprinted by George Robinson in
1585.

1555—A Treatise of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetor-
rike,

this opportunity, even to gain a knowledge of the energies of the British alphabet (g).

But, our *maternal English* remained unformed, and uncultivated, when Shakspeare began *to lisp in numbers; for the numbers came*: Yet, while he was still a *fresh and*

rike, profitable for al that be studious of Eloquence, and in especiall for fuche as in Grammer Scholes doe reade moste eloquente Poetes, and Oratours.

1563—A booke called the Foundation of Rhetoricke, because all other partes of Rhetorike are grounded thereupon, every parte set forth in an Oracion upon questions, verie profitable to bee knowen and redde: By Richard Rainolde.

1593—Arcadian Rhetorike, or The Precepts of Rhetoricke, made plaine by examples Greeke, Latyne, Englishhe, Italyan, Frenche, and Spanishe. By Abr. Fraunce.

1599.—The Arte of Logick, plainly taught in the English Tongue: By Blundvill.

(g) This will appear, by comparing Salesbury's Welsh Grammar, 1567, with the language of Sir Hugh Evans, and Captain Flluellen: *Got* for *God*, *goot* for *good*: Now, the Englishmen, and Welshmen, pronounced the *d* exactly in the same manner: *Pribbles*—*p*rabbles, *peat* for *beat*: Now, the genius of the Welsh does not admit of the converting of the *b* into *p*, though it allows, in composition, the converting of the *p* into *b*: These, then, were egregious blunders, which proceeded from compleat ignorance of the Welsh grammar. The object, however, of the dramatist was to create laughter by blunder, and mimicry.

stainless youth, its genius was diligently examined, its rules were more clearly ascertained, and both its deformities, and beauties, were elaborately displayed. In the English language, Shakspeare appears to have been a diligent student. How much our poet had studied it, before he came out upon the stage, appears from the accuracy, the elegance, and splendour of his diction, though it be *mellowed by the stealing hours of time*. He wrote the language of his country, as it was then spoken, and written, without affecting the antique, or aspiring to *terms italianate* (b).

(b) I will support that sentiment by a few examples: Shakspeare has *canker'd* Bolingbroke; *canker'd* country: Lyly's *Euphues*, 581, p. 7, says that, Naples is a *canker'd* storehouse of all strife.—Queen Elizabeth and Burleigh, in their Declaration of the Causes for supporting the Netherlands against Spain, which was printed by Barker in 1585, say: “However malicious tongues may utter their *cankered* conceits to the contrary.”—Shakspeare has the *Countie* Paris. Q. Elizabeth and Burleigh say, in the same Declaration, “of the chiefeft of the nobilitie none was more affected to the religion than the valiant *Countie* of Egmond.” Shakspeare says “the play pleased not *the million* :” In the council-registers of that age, I have seen the same expression of *the million* for *the many*. And, as an authority, see the *Chauceriana*, which are annexed to the *Grammatica Anglicana*, 1594, for a choice collection of poetical words, which as they are now obsolete, only obscure the pages of Shakspeare, which they formerly illumed.

Shakspeare

Shakspeare was carried by Rowe from the free-school, “where it is probable he acquired what Latin he was master of;” and was placed, at home, as an assistant to his father, who from his narrow circumstances, and increasing family, required the help of such a son: Mr. Malone places the aspiring poet “in the office of some country attorney, or “the feneschal of some manor court (i):” and, for this violation of probability, he produces many passages from his dramas to evince Shakspeare’s *technical skill in the forms of law*; although our commentator admits, “that the “comprehensive mind of our poet embraced “almost every object of nature, every art, the “manners of every description of men, and “the general language of almost every profession (k).” But, was it not the practice of the times, for other *makers*, like the bees, *tolling from every flower the virtuous sweets*, to gather from the *thistles* of the law *the sweetest honey*? Does not Spenser gather many a *metaphor* from *these weeds*, that are most apt to grow in *fattest soil*? Has not Spenser his *law terms*: His *capias*, *defeasance*, and *duressse*; his *emparlance*; his *enure*, *essoyne*, and *escheat*; his *folkmote*, *forestall*, and *gage*; his

(i) Shak. vol. i. part i. p. 104.

(k) Ib. 306-7.

livery and feasin, wage, and waif (l). It will be said, however, that whatever the *learning* of Spenser may have gleaned, the law-books of that age were impervious to the illiterature of Shakspeare. No: such an intellect, when employed on the drudgery of a woolstapler, who had been *high-bailiff* of Stratford-upon-Avon, might have derived all that was necessary from a very few books: From Totell's *Presidents*, (m) 1572; from Pulton's *Statutes*, (n) 1578; and from the Lawier's *Logike*, 1588 (o). It is one of the axioms of the *Flores Regii*, that, *To answeere an improbable imagination is to fight against a vanishing shadow.*

(l) See the Glossary to Spenser's Works, 1788.

(m) "A Booke of Presidents exactly written in maner of a Register, newly corrected, with additions of divers necessary Presidents, meete for al such, as desire to learne the fourme and maner howe to make all maner of evidences and instruments." The *Presidents* were printed both in Latin and English, which was the most commodious form for *such a scholar*.

(n) An Abstract of all the Penal Statutes, which be general in force and use: Moreover the aucthoritie and dutie of all Justices of Peace, Sherriffes, Coroners, Maiors, *Bailiffes*, Customers, Comptrollers of Custome, Stewardest of Leets and Liberties, Aulnegers, and Purveyours.

(o) The Lawier's Logike, exemplifying the præcepts of Logike by the practise of the Common Law; by Abraham Fraunce.

Neither

Neither the forms of law, however, repressed the genius of Shakspeare; nor have the follies of criticism yet obscured the splendour of his muse: As he was born a poet, we may easily presume, that he began early to indulge his natural propensity. Mr. Malone has remarked what I think is likely to be true, that *the sugr'd sonnets* are among the earliest of our poet's labours. There is a date in the one hundred and fourth sonnet, which, when it shall be explained by other dates, will lead to important information about his first journey to London, and his subsequent career, as a public writer:—

“ To me, fair friend, you never can be old:

“ For, as you were, when first your eye I ey'd;

“ Such seems your beauty still. *Three winters' cold*

“ Have from the forests shook *three summers' pride;*

“ *Three* beauteous *springs* to yellow autumn turn'd;

“ In process of the seasons have I seen;

“ *Three* April perfumes in *three* hot Junes burn'd;

“ Since *first* I saw you fresh, which yet are green.”

Three years elapsed, then, from Shakspeare's first arrival at London, when he first saw the sweet *buc* of Elizabeth, till the writing of the sonnets, which were wrote to *no other pass, than of her graces and her gifts to tell.* But, the poet himself calls his *Venus and Adonis*, which was certainly written before
April

April, 1593, and published, probably, in 1594, *the first beir of his invention*. It was, however, the *Rape of Lucrece*, which first gained him public celebration, as soon as it appeared: And, it was in *Willobie's Avisa*, that Shakspeare was thus celebrated in verses, which, as they seem to have escaped the commentators, when they were searching for encomiastic poetry, are here subjoined (*p*):

In Lauine Land though Liuic boſt,
 There hath beene ſeeñe a conſtant dame:
 Though Rome lament that ſhe have loſt
 The Gareland of her rareſt fame,
 Yet now we ſee, that there is found,
 As great a faith in Engliſh ground.

Though Collatine have deerely bought,
 To high renowne, a laſting life,
 And found, that moſt in vain have fought,
 To have a faire, and conſtant wife,
 Yet Tarquyne pluckt his gliſtering grape,
 And *Shakeſpeare* paints poore Lucrece rape.

(*p*) Willobie his *Avisa* [*Amans. Vxor. Inviolata. Semper. Amanda*] was imprinted by Windet, in 1594. The manner, in which Windet printed our poet's name, *Shakeſpeare*, ſhows clearly how this celebrated appellation was, in his own age, pronounced Shakeſpeare, with a lengthened tone, and not *Shackſpere*, with a ſnappiſh ſhortneſs: The verſes in praiſe of Shakspeare, which were written, as I conjecture, by Hadrian Dorrel, the editor of Willobie's *Aviſa*, are, therefore, doubly curious.

Though

Though Susan shine in faithfull praise;
 As twinkling Starres in Christall Skie,
 Penelop's fame though Greekes do raise,
 Of faithfull wives to make up three,
 To thinke the truth, and say no lesse,
 Our Auifa shall make a messe.

This number knits so sure a knot,
 Time doubtres, that she shall adde no more,
 Unconstant nature hath begot,
 Of Fleting Feemes, such fickle store,
 Two thousand yeares have scarcely seene,
 Such as the worst of these have beene.

Then Aui-Susan joyne in one,
 Let Lucrez-Auis be thy name,
 This English Eagle fores alone,
 And farre surmounts all others fame,
 Where high or low, where great or small,
 This Brytan Bird out-flies them all.

Were these three happie, that have found,
 Brave Poets, to depaint there praise?
 Of Rurall Pipe, with sweetest sound,
 That have been heard these many daies,
 Sweete Willoby his Avis blest,
 That makes her mount above the rest.

We can now ascertain, though not with absolute precision, the appearance of this *glorious star*, in the poetical heavens (*q*). Puttenham did

(*q*) When discussing the question about the first appearance of Shakspeare, in the scenic world, Mr. Malone asserts: [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 130.] "Coaches, in the time of Queen Elizabeth were possessed but by very few. They were
 " not

did not distinguish Shakspeare, when he published his *Arte of English Poesie*, in 1589, as Mr. Malone has, indeed, remarked. Our poet was obscurely noticed in 1592. He was hailed by the voice of gratulation, in 1594. And, before the effluxion of 1598, Shakspeare was acknowledged, by the suffrages of his countrymen, to be among them, the *most excellent* dramatist in *both kinds*; for *Commedy*, and for *Tragedy*, if we may rely on the declaration of Meres, in his *Wits Commonwealth*, which has, indeed, been confirmed by subsequent experience. And, it is surely natural to inquire by what artifices of study Shakspeare obtained this pre-eminence over very powerful competitors.

We have seen what grammars probably instructed his infancy; what dictionaries assisted his youth; and what treatises of criticism improved his manhood. It is, indeed, more than probable, that Shakspeare had studied,

“ not in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See Stowe’s “ *Annals*, p. 867.” Yet; see the *Lords Journals*, vol. ii. p. 229; on the 7th of November 1601, a bill was introduced “ to restrain the *excessive* and *superfluous* use of coaches, “ within this realm.” Thus it is, when the blind follow the blind! Marston says, in his *Cynicke Satire*, 1599:

“ Peace cynick, see what yonder doth approach,

“ A cart? a tumbrell? no a *badged* coach.”

with

with great attention, Wilson's *Art of Rhetorique*, which was published, for the *third time*, in 1585. It is sufficiently known to the readers of Shakspeare, that he had unbounded curiosity, from nature; and vigilance of observation, from habit: And, it was natural for such a poet, who early felt the ambition of authorship, to inspect, and to study, the *Art of Rhetorique*, which was popularly known, while his inquisitive mind was on the wing. From this fountain of knowledge, both historical, and critical, such an intellect must necessarily have quaffed abundant draughts of instruction; both of ancient lore, and modern attainments: In it, he must have seen, as in a *specious mirror*, the whole mystery of writing, the good, exemplified, and the bad, exploded. In the *Art of Rhetorique*, he also saw characters pourtrayed, which as a dramatist, he must have viewed with pleasure, and recollected with advantage: Herein, he must have seen *Tymon of (r)*

(r). Art of Ret. 1585, p. 56: *Tymon a deadly hater of all Company*: "Now, I thinke he is most worthie to bee despised above all other, that is borne, as a man would say, for himself, that liveth to himself, that spareth for himself, that loveth no man, and no man loveth him. Would not one think, that such a monster were meet to be cast out of all men's companie (with *Tymon*. that careth for no man) into the middest of the sea."

Athens,

Athens, and the *Pedantick Magistrate* (s): He, herein, discovered *the character*; but he found, in his own invention, *the constable*: He now became acquainted with *the mayor*; but he afterwards shook hands with *Dogberry* at *Credenton*.

In the same manner, it is more than probable, that Shakspeare had diligently studied *Ascham's Scholemaster*, which must have supplied such an intellect with some classical knowledge, and such an intuitive discernment with much critical remark. The preface opens with Ascham's thankful recollection of the conversation, which he had heard, in 1563, at Lord Burleigh's table, when dining with him, at Windsor, in company with Sir William Peter, Sir John Mason, Dr. Wotton, Sir Richard Sackville, Mr. Haddon, Mr. John Aftley, Mr. Bernard Hampton, and Mr. Nicasius. Mr. Secretarie, as his wont was, on such occasions, to lay aside *state-affairs*, opened

(s) Art of Ret. p. 167: "Another good fellowe of the countrey, being an *officer* and *mayor* of a toun, and desirous to speak like a fine learned man, having just occasion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, said after this wise, in a greate heate: — Thou *yngraine* and *vacation* knave, if I take thee any more within the *circumcision* of my *dampnation*; I will so *corrupt* thee, that all other *vacation* knaves shall take *ilsample* by thee."

the

the conversation, at dinner, by saying: He had strange news brought him that morning, “that diverse schollers of Eaton, be runne awai from the schole, for fear of beating:” Whereupon, Mr. Secretarie tooke occasion to wishe, that some more discretion were in many scholemasters, in using correction than commonlie there is: who, many times, punish the weaknes of nature, than the fault of the scholer.—Mr. Peter, as one somewhat severe of nature, said plainlie, that the rodde onlie was the sworde, that must keep the schole in obedience, and the scholer in good order. Mr. Wotton, a man milde of nature, said the scholehouse should be in deede, as it is called by name, the house of play and pleasure, and not of feare and bondage. Mr. Mason, after his maner, was verie merie with both parties; pleaseantlie playing, both with the shrowde touches of many courste boys, and with the small discretion of many leude scholemasters. Mr. Haddon was fullie of Mr. Peter’s opinion; and said, that the best scholemafter of our time (naming him) was the greatest beater. Ascham now gave his own opinion, being courteslie provoked by Mr. Secretarie: Though it was the good fortune of that scholemafter to send from his

scholar unto the universitie one of the best scholars of our time, yet wise men do thinke, that this was rather owing to the great towardnes of the scholar than the great beating of the master : For, yong children are soner alured by love, than driven by beating, to atteyne good learning.”

Does not this conversation at Burleigh's dinner bring to our recollection the celebrated table-talk of Shakspeare? The fifth act of *Love's Labours Lost* opens with the entry, after dinner, of Holofernes, the schoolmaster, Sir Nathaniel, and Dull : I praise God for you, Sir, says Nathaniel to Holofernes : Your reasons [discourse] at dinner have been sharp, and sententious ; pleasant, without scurrility ; witty, without affectation ; audacious, [spirited] without impudency ; learned, without opinion ; and strange, without heresy. Of this *finished representation of colloquial excellence*, Johnson remarks that, it is very difficult to add any thing to this character of the schoolmaster's table-talk ; and perhaps all the precepts of Castiglione will scarcely be found to comprehend a rule for conversation, so justly delineated, so widely dilated, and so nicely limited (t).

(t) Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. v. p. 301.

Weighing all circumstances, I have persuaded myself that, when Shakspeare drew his *finished representation of colloquial excellence*, he had in his *mind's-eye* the conversation at Burleigh's table, by the most learned, and able, men, in England. The character of Holofernes was probably drawn by Shakspeare from the notion, which he had formed, in reading the Scholemaster of Ascham, who had been dead upwards of twenty years. It was not, consequently, drawn from the poet's enmity to Florio, as Warburton insists, in *his own style*. In discussing this opinion, Mr. Malone doubts, whether the *first* edition of Florio's *World of Words*, which was dedicated to Lord Southampton, *during his travels*, were published, in 1598: But, this doubt, merely arose, from not knowing, in what year his Lordship had travelled, though our critic had published anecdotes of his life.

From the talk of Holofernes, thus learned, without opinion, and strange, without heresy, we may perceive the sentiments of Shakspeare, with regard to language; that he *abhorred the rackers of orthography*; and regarded innovations in our speech, as *abominable insanie*. Spenser avowed the same opinions, in his *Three Proper Letters*, which Shakspeare had

probably perused. It is curious to remark, that two of the greatest poets, in any age, should, in the same manner, have concurred, in abhorring the rackers of orthography, and in ridiculing innovators of their *maternal English*. Shakspeare, like a wise man, frequently avows his dislike of innovation, and his contempt for innovators. It is to be observed, however, that those illustrious *makers* did not always practise their own precepts, with rigid attention to a salutary principle.

When Shakspeare had thus settled his style, which proceeded partly from the vigour of his own imagination, and formed his taste, which he improved, by reading the *Artes of Poese* of Webbe, and of Puttenham, the *Grammatica Anglicana* would come too late, in 1594, to show him what he had already found, or to teach him what he even then knew. But, this rare book, as it contains a *Chauceriana*, does not come too late even, in 1796, to clear some obscurities in Shakspeare, which arise more from our forgetfulness of the language of our fathers, than to his inattention to the usage, and idiom, of his own times. And, these *Chauceriana*, as they consist of a collection of poetical expressions, which were known, in 1594, furnish *contemporary*

porary explanations of no fewer than nine words in *Midsummer-Nights Dream*; which is said to have been written, in 1592: (1.) TO CARROL; to sing; to *daunce*. [Chaucer.] “No night is now with hymn, or *carol* blest.” [Mid. N. D.] *Hymns* and *carols* are said to have been *sung*, in the time of Shakspeare; every night at Christmases. But, our poet understood the *double* meaning of the word, though we have forgotten it; and intended to say: “No night is now with songs, or *daunces*, blest.” Every explanation, when given from contemporary authority, ought to be admitted, which gives clearness, and energy, to *our master* (u). (2.) TO DEARE; to trouble; to grieve. [Chaucer.] “If I have thanks, it is a *dear* expence.” [Mid. N. D.] Johnson, indeed says, that *deer* seems to be sometimes used in Shakspeare for sad, hateful, grievous. [Dict. in Vo. *Dear*.] And, our poet meant to say, a *sad expence*: For, Helena, who

(u) In Henry the vth, we have “unseen, yet *crefcive*, in his *faculty*.”—Johnson explains *faculty* to mean, “Increasing in its proper power:” Yet, would I prefer Norden’s explanation, in his *Surveyor’s Dialogue*, 1607, p. 1:—

- “Q. Call you it [the profession of land-surveying] a *Faculty*? What mean you by that word?
“A. *Ability to perform a thing undertaken.*”

is speaking, is resolved to betray to her disdainful lover the *secret* of the fair Hermia, her friend : and feeling the compunction of a well-instructed mind, for this odious breach of trust, she reasons ; “ And for this intelligence, if I “ have thanks, it is a *deare* [sad] expence.” This explanation of the word *deare*, at once gives clearness to the expression, and inculcates an useful moral. (3.) COINTE ; *quaint* ; *nicely strange*. [Chaucer.] “ And, the *quaint* “ mazes, in the wanton green, for lack of “ tread, are undistinguishable.” [Mid. N. D.] “ The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots, and “ at our *quaint* spirits.” [Id.] (4.) WOOD ; *madde* ; *furiosus* ; *outrageous*. [Chaucer.] “ Thou “ told’st me they were stol’n into this wood ; “ and, here am I, and *wood*, within this “ wood.” [Id.] (5.) TO WEND ; *to go* ; *to turne*. [Chaucer.] “ And back to Athens shall “ the lovers *wend*.” [Id.] (6.) NEVE ; *fiſt*. [Chaucer.] “ Give me your *neif*, Mons. Mus- “ tardseed.” [Id.] (7) ANTIQUE : *auncient*. [Chaucer.] “ I never may believe these *an-* “ *tique* fables, nor these fairy toys.” [Id.] (8.) QUELL ; *to abate* ; *to kill*. [Chaucer.] “ Quail, crush, conclude, and *quell*.” [Id.] (9.) MONE ; *lamentations*, *sorrow*, *waylings*. [Chaucer.] “ And thus she *moans*.” [Id.]

Let

Let these few examples suffice, to show how much our bard may be illustrated, and ourselves enlightened, by *the Chauceriana* (v).

I cannot

(v) This elegant, and useful, *Grammatica Anglicana*, to which those Chauceriana were annexed, was printed at Cambridge, by John Legatt, in 1594; and *the Chauceriana*, consisting of *five pages*, ought, in justice to the admirers of Shakspeare, to be annexed to every future edition of his works, even if some of the lumber, which now obstructs the reader's way, were dismissed to the stalls. In order to support that sentiment, I will subjoin a few more examples :

RECKE; to *care*; *regard*; or *account of*. [Chaucer.] "The Great Globe itself; yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve; and —— leave not a *rack* behind." [Tempest.] Every one knows how much learning has been wasted, without success, to explain the meaning of *rack*, in this celebrated passage. (1.) But, it is, plainly, a misprint for *recke*: (2.) Shakspeare, merely, meant to say, that the Globe, and All, which it inherit, shall dissolve, without leaving a *recke*, an *account of*, memorial, or notice, behind.

REEDE; to *shew*; *tell*; *declare*; *expound*. [Chaucer.] Ophelia says, —— "But, good my brother,

"Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,

"Shew me the steep and thorny way to *heaven*;

"Whilst, like a puff'd and *reckless* libertine,

"Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,

"And *recks* not his own *read*." [Hamlet.]

Now; Shakspeare, knowing the various meanings of all those words, meant to make Ophelia say; whilst *careless* libertines tread the primrose path, and *regard* not their own *reede*, *declarations*, or *expositions*.—Moreover; the fortune-tellers *reede* the destinies of *the maidens of the villagry*, even to this day.

I cannot quit *The Midsummer-Night's Dream*, without mentioning, that I have seen in the parish-register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, "A testimonial, in 1569, of the age of Joseph " *Botthom*," who had been born, in that parish, the *haunt* of Shakspeare, who may have noted the *Botthoms*, as fit objects of his muse.

Whatever there may be in this, it is certain, though our critic has furnished no documents to enable us to ascertain the fact, that Shakspeare was not only master of great vigilance of observation, but of equal diligence of notation. He allowed nothing to escape him, which occurred to his eye, his memory, or his intellect: But, noting down what he saw, recollected, or inferred, diligently prepared to write for immortality. We may be convinced of this, by a curious, but unnoticed, passage, in Marston's tenth satire, entitled *Humours* :—

"Lufcus, what's play'd to day? fayth now I know
I fet my lips abroach, from whence doth flow

TO SHEND; to *blame*; or *reprove*. [Chaucer.] "We shall be all *shent*." [M.W.W.] "I am *shent* for speaking to you." [Twelfth Night.] "He *shent* our messengers." [Troil. and Cres.] Now; I suspect, that *shent*, which plainly means *blame*, reproof, is either a misprint, or a different form of the same verb.—These examples shall suffice, for the present.

Naught

Naught but pure *Juliet* and *Romeo*.
 Say; who acts best? *Drusus*, or *Roscio*?
 Now, I have *him*, that ne're of ought did speake,
 But, when of playes, and plaiers, he did treat.
 H'ath made a *common place-booke* out of *playes*,
 And speakes in print, at least what'ere he sayes
 Is warranted by *curtaine plaudities*.
 If ere you heard him courting *Lesbias* eyes;
 Say (courteous Sir) speakes he not movingly
 From out some *new pathetique tragedie*?
 He writes, he railes, he jests, he courts, what not;
 And all from out his *huge long-scraped stock*
 Of *well-penn'd playes*."

Romeo and Juliet is said by Mr. Malone to be the *first* tragedy, which Shakspeare produced; to have been written in 1595, printed in 1597, and reprinted, in *its present form two years afterwards* (w). Well, then, might Marston ask, in 1599, *What's played to day?* Nought but pure *Juliet* and *Romeo*; and might, fitly, of the author exclaim, *Speaks he not movingly from out some new pathetique tragedie!* Shakspeare was already in the satirist's mind, when he cried out in the *preceding verse*, *A ball, a ball*, and in Marston's eye, when he opened a preceding satire, by exclaiming, *A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!*

(w) The Chronology of Shak. Plays.—*Romeo and Juliet* was printed for Cuthbert Burby, in 1599. Herb. Typ. An. vol. ii. p. 1283. My edition of *Marston's Satyres*, from which I quote, was also published in the same year, 1599.

All

All those circumstances, clearly, evince, that Marston meant to give a minute description of Shakspeare, in the before-quoted passage, which is now submitted to the curious reader for the first time. *Drusus* was, necessarily, intended for Shakspeare, as *Roscius* had been, already, appropriated to Richard Burbadge : And, the comparison, between those illustrious actors, which was thus instituted by Marston, who knew them both intimately, is honourable to all parties. But, our curiosity is gratified the most, by what the satirist says of our immortal bard, as *a man*, and as *a maker*. We now perceive, that Shakspeare's *table-talk* turned chiefly on his profession ; *that he nere of ought did speake, but, when of playes, or play-ers, he did treat*. We at length perceive, that Shakspeare had discernment to know the value of *a common-place book* to a professed writer : *He made a common-place book out of plays : He writes, he railes, he jests, he courts, what not ; and all from out his huge long-scraped stock of well-penn'd plays*. This is such a delineation of our dramatist, as his admirers have never seen before. It was, indeed, known, that Shakspeare adopted freely, but amply improved, preceding plays, characters, sentiments, and language : Yet, our critic,

critic, when he shows *his active practice*, is not sufficiently studious to tell, that, such was the usage of the times, without the imputation of *plagiarism*, and the custom of the greatest poets of the age; as when Spenser adopted the *Colin Clout* of Skelton. The success of Shakspeare's dramas, at the theatre, is also celebrated by Marston, when the rival-dramatist affirms that,

“ ————— What ere he faves

“ Is warranted by *curtaine plaudities* (x).”

Such, then, are the lights, which the pencil of Marston has thrown on *the studies* of Shakspeare! We may now perceive distinctly, that our dramatist was in the habit of reading, not only the plays and poetry, but the books and pamphlets, which a teeming age brought forth; and in the practice of *common-placing* whatever was curious, or might be useful. Much illustration, indeed, was given to the obscurities of Shakspeare, by Theobald, and still greater help has been afforded to our own unskilfulness, by other editors, during the last thirty years, from the perusal of *all such* READING as was never read,—but by Shak-

(x) *Curtaine* and *theatre* were synonymous expressions, for *the stage*, in that age, as we learn from Northbrook, and Stubbs.

speare, to whom, Pope owed it, as a poet, and a critic, to have been somewhat more *modest in exception* (y). But, though much has been done, by clearing away obstructions, to vindicate *our master's* claim to immortality; yet, much remains to be done by the efforts of diligence, rather than the *scoffs* of *high-blown pride*, and by the investigations of judgment, rather than the *backbites* of *habitual malignity*, to make his obscurities intelligible to the meanest capacity, and his beauties relishable by the greatest genius.

In pursuance of this sentiment, I will add a mite, or two, to the common stock of useful illustration. The whole conduct, sentiment, and language of *the Ghost in Hamlet*, which have created so much embarrassment, may be cleared, and the explanations of the most intelligent commentators confirmed, by a passage, in *The Book of the* (z) *Festival*, a church book
of

(y) See Warton on Spenser, 2d ed. p. 264.

(z) It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1532: But, I transcribe the passage from Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 139: The priest, speaking of *the burial of the dead*, asserts *the walking of their ghosts*, in the following manner: "Many
" walk on nights, when buried in holy place: But, that is
" not long of the fiend, but of the grace of God, to get
" them help. And some be guilty, and have no rest. Four
" men

of the priests, which was read to their parishioners, during particular seasons. Shakspeare may have, possibly, found some edition of this book, in his own family, and have, thereby, learned the popular notions of the times, with regard to *the walking of ghosts*, and to the *houfeling* of sick men, by the administration of *the sacrament*.

From *Batman's Doome, warning all men to*

“men stole an abbot's ox to their larder. The abbot did a
 “sentence, and cursed them: So three of them were
 “*shriven*, and asked mercy: The fourth died, and was not
 “*affoiled*, and had not forgiveness: So, when he was dead,
 “*the spirit went by night*, and *feared* all the people about,
 “that none durst walk after sun down: Then, as the
 “parish priest went on a night with *God's body* to *houfel* a
 “sick man, this spirit went with him, and told him what he
 “was, and why he went [walked] and prayed the priest to
 “go to his wife, that they should go both to the abbot,
 “and make him amends for his trespass; and so to *affoil*
 “him; for he might have no rest: And, anon the abbot
 “*affoiled* him; and *he went to rest*, and joy for evermore.”

—In *The Doome, warning to judgement* of Mr. Professour Batman, 1581, p. 420, which Shakspeare had certainly read, there is *the print* of a ghost, who “not many yeres paste, in
 “Bohemia, appeared to one that was asleep:” This ghost is a goodly personage; and is all naked, indeed, except his *loins*, which are ygirdled with Mr. Malone's *leathern pilch*. The most intelligent ghost of the present day might *snatch a grace* from the attitude, which is really fine, of the Bohemian ghost of Professour Batman.

the judgemente; and containing almost all the *strange prodigies, hapned in the world*, Shakspeare acquired much knowledge, which is scattered about in his dramas: Herein he found the history “of sundry monsters of men, “in divers forms;” such as the *Cynnaminii*, or dog-keepers, the *Spermathophagi*, who lived on fruite, the *Ilophogi*, who dwelt in trees, and leaped from branch to branch, like squirrelles, the *Hermafroditæ*, that is, people of both kinds, the *Inchthyophagi*, or fish-eaters, the *Pandora*, who live two hundred years, the *Nigritæ*, who are all black, and whose nether lips hang down as low as their breasts, the *Æthiopes*, a black people, who have *four (a) eyes*, the *Hippopodes*, whose nether parts are like to horses, the *Arimaspi*, who have but one eye in their foreheads, the ANTHROPOPHAGI, who eat man’s flesh, and live without law, and from these men eaters proceed the *Canibals*, who are so called from their eating man’s *(b) flesh*, the *Pygmies*, who are so called for

(a) “*Ethiops* of their sweet complexion crack.” [Love’s Labour Lost.] “Such *Ethiop* words, *blacker* in their effect, “than in their countenance.” [As you like it.]

(b) Othello tells Desdemona,—Of the *Canibals*, that each other eat, the *Anthropophagi*, and men, whose heads do
grow

for their shortness of stature. Yet, among all those wonderful nations, the Professor seems not to have found that celebrated people, *whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders.*

The history of *these singular men*, may be compressed into a very little volume. Mr. Professor Batman, after reading every Greek, and Latin, author, after perusing the writings of the Italian, German, French, and Spanish doctors, who had treated of *wonderful wonders*, had almost published his own work, without saying a word about that memorable race (c). But, there happily were sent him from abroad some additional relations of *monsters*, which he caused to be translated, for the instruction of his readers.—“In the woddess of Asia,” he (d) says, “are men called *Monopoli*, who have
“ no

grow beneath their shoulders.—“He’ll speak, like an *Anthropopaginian* unto thee.” [Merry Wives of Windsor.] Here, is a word, which was plainly coined, in order to throw contempt on such wonderful men; as, indeed, there is much of the same purpose in Othello’s celebrated relation, which, at the same time, evinces the poet’s insight into human nature.

(c) He gives a very long list of all the books, which he had read over, to discover things out of nature. In this list, may be seen the name of Nicolaus Geilerus *Ludi Basiliensis moderator*.

(d) The Dome, p. 389: And yet, Batman, when he was upon the search, might have found in Pliny, the naturalist,

“ no head, but a face in their breaste: They go
 “ naked, covering themselves [their no-heads]
 “ with a cap, by reason of the sun’s great
 “ heat: They gather pepper, and barter it
 “ with the merchants of Mecha; and the
 “ wares which they have for it, they send to
 “ *the Antipodes (e)*: They are verye conti-
 “ nent and modest men; neither are they ever
 “ heard to utter an ill word; they are very
 “ upright, and have a good conscience, ac-
 “ cording to their law.” Luckily, Sir Wal-
 ter Raleigh found, in Guiana, a few years
 after, a kindred generation, whom he intro-
 duced to the English people, in 1596. While
 the wits of England, Hall, Marston, and (*f*)
 Shakspeare, were laughing at the *marvels* of

ist, lib. vii. cap. 2: “*Versus occidentem ad montem Milo in*
Asia, vivere genus hominum, sine capitibus, habentes
oculos in pectore intra axillas.” Nay; those famous
 men were delineated in the *Mosaic Pavements* of the Ro-
 mans. [Divus August. De Civit. Dei, Lib. xvi. cap. 8.]

(*e*) Shakspeare often mentions the *Antipodes*. [Much
 Ado About Nothing; Merchant of Venice; Richard 2d:
 “Thou art as opposite to every good, as the *Antipodes* are
 “ unto us.” 3 H. 6.] Shakspeare thus appears to have
 known the *Antipodes* full better than Batman.

(*f*) In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1601, from the
 witty tongue of Falstaff: “She is a *region of Guiana*, all
 “ gold and bounty.”

Raleigh,

Raleigh, the scholars of the continent adopted his fictions. Our voyager's narrative was translated into Latin, and published at Nuremberg, by Levin Hulfe, in 1599, with a *map* by HONDIUS, having upon it the said men, hunting, and fighting, with *their heads beneath their shoulders*. The learning of Shakspeare, I grant, did not enable him to read this *Brevis & admiranda descriptio Regni Gvianæ, auri abundantissimi, in America*; but it must be equally allowed, that *the fights* of Shakspeare enabled him to see, in the sculptured title-page, the men *with their heads beneath their shoulders*, bodied forth to the dimmest eyne. The same *picture* also showed to *the naturalists* of that age, what must have appeared very notable, that the *Monopolian* women were made in all respects, like unto other women. We now perceive, from this brief history, that those *Monopoli* were very familiar to the understandings, and the eyes, of Englishmen, before Shakspeare brought them out upon the stage, when, as old acquaintances, the men, *whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders*, must have been received with loud applause.

We are, in this manner, carried forward to the question, which has been agitated, about

the *epoch*, and the *origin*, of *the Tempest*. Theobald asserted, that *this noblest effort* of the *sublime imagination* of Shakspeare must have been written, after 1609, because the Bermuda islands, which are mentioned in it, were unknown to the English until that year. The ignorance of that useful editor has been properly corrected, by a reference to Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1600, for May's description of Bermudas, where he was shipwrecked in 1593. But, we must go a step further back. And, we shall find, in Raleigh's *Narrative*, which Shakspeare had read, and noted, the true source of our *maker's* knowledge, about the *still-vex'd Bermoothes* (g). In displaying the advantages of Guiana, Raleigh says, with premature dogmatism, "the *Channel* of *Bahama*, coming from the West Indies, *cannot be passed in the winter*, and when it is *at the best*, it is a perilous, and a fearful, *place*: The rest of *the Indies* for calms, and diseases, are very troublesome; and

(g) *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado. Performed in 1595 by Sir W. Raleigh. Imprinted at London by Rob. Robinson, 1596. The book was dedicated, by Raleigh, to the Lord Admiral Howard, and to Sir Robert Cecyll.

"the

“ *the BERMUDAS, a hellish sea, for thunder, lightning, and storms.*” Subsequent misadventures, in those seas, and posterior publications, in London, kept the *still-vex'd Bermoothes* constantly before the public eye. Jourdan, who accompanied Sir George Somers, when he was shipwrecked on Bermudas, in 1609, published, in 1610, *A Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called, the isle of Devils* (b). A ship, named the Plough, failed from the Thames, in April 1612, with adventurers for Bermudas, who, having a *fair and comfortable passage*, established the *first colony in the isle of Devils*, on the 11th of July 1612. This enterprize was followed, by the publication, in 1613, of *A Plaine Description of the Barmudas now called Sommer islands* (i). During the months of October, November,

(b) It was printed by Windet for Barnet in St. Dunstan's Churchyard.

(i) This pamphlet was printed by W. Stansby for W. Welby: And, it is merely a republication of Jourdan's Tract, with an *addition*, containing the voyage and settlement, under *Master* R. More, the deputie governor, with a change of the name, and a softening of the description, as to the *hellishness* of the thunder, lightning, and storms; yet, retaining the following passage in Jourdan's pamphlet, which is very material to remember, and very curious to remark now, as it has never been remarked before: “ For the

November, and December, 1612, there was a continued *tempest*, as Stowe informs us, which wrecked many ships along the coasts of England. Shakspeare's *Tempest* was acted in the beginning of the year 1613. And, Ben Johnson, with *unlucky self-sufficiency*, scoffed at this sublime effort of the human genius, in his *Bartholomew-fair*, 1614. Now, these dates, and those circumstances, fix the true epoch of the *Tempest*, not in 1612, according to Mr. Malone's chronology, but in 1613, according to the evidence. Shakspeare's notion of the *hellishness* of the Bermudean sea, for *thunder, lightning, and storms*, was plainly derived from Raleigh, and his idea of the *still-vex'd Bermoothes*, being an *enchanted place*, which made every mariner avoid it, as Scylla, and Charydis, was obviously taken from Jourdan, when his tract was republished, in 1613 (*k*).
 These

“ Islands of the Barmudas, as every man knoweth, that
 “ hath heard, or read of them, were never inhabited by any
 “ Christian, or heathen, people, but ever esteemed, and
 “ reputed, a most *prodigious*, and *enchanted*, *place*, affording
 “ nothing but gusts, stormes, and foul weather; which made
 “ every navigator and mariner to avoid them, as Scylla and
 “ Charydis, or as they would shun the Devil himselfe.”

(*k*) In the *Plain Description*, when printed, in 1613, there is a superaddition to the original passage, which is very remarkable:—

These positions may be supported by other facts, and confirmed by additional reasonings, which will, at the same time, open new prospects to the inquisitive eye. Knowing the common opinion, that the Bermudean isles were enchanted, and governed by spirits, our *maker* showed great judgment, in causing, by enchantment, the King's ship to be wrecked on *the still-vex'd Bermoothes*, with allusions to the shipwreck of Sommers, and the government by spirits. He goes on to show his own contempt for the marvels of voyage-writers, in that age of voyages, by saying; "But, *the rarity* of it is, which is indeed "almost beyond credit; *as many vouch'd rarities are.*" Showing thus the rectitude of his own faculties, he proceeds to ridicule, by the most marked sarcasm, *The Plain Descrip-*

remarkable;—"It is reported, that the land of *the Barmudas* "with the many islands about it are enchanted, and kept "with evil and wicked spirits; it is a most idle and false "report."—To this the writer of the supplemental account adds: "For, our *enchanted* islands, which is kept as some "say *with spirits*, will wrong no friend, nor foe." Three mariners, who had been left on Bermudas in 1610, were found by the planters, in 1612, more *civil* than *savage*, and more industrious than idle: For, they had planted corn, wheat, beans, tobacco, and melons. We now see how many hints Shakspeare gained from those Bermudean pamphlets.

tion of Bermudas, 1613 (l): “ Though this
 “ island seem to be desert;—Ha, ha, ha!
 “ Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible; yet,

(l) Who did not think, says the writer, till within these four years, but that those islands had been rather a habitation of devils, than fit for men to dwell in? Who did not hate the name, when he was on land, and shun the place when he was on the seas. The writer, then, speaks of *the Bermudas as desert*, yet says it was inhabited by three men; who were more civil, than savage; that they were surrounded by dangerous rocks, lying seven leagues into the sea, yet, there are many good harbours in it: They found the ayr so temperate, and the country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for the sustentation of man’s life; and though this island has been, and is, accounted, the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorne place in the world, it is in truth, the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, and merely natural, as ever man set foot upon. The ground is the richest to bear fruit, whatsoever one shall lay on it, that is in the world, and very easy for digging; for it is a *fat sandy ground*, and of *colour a brown red*: Many seeds were sown, the cowcumber and the melon among others, and they were seen above the ground on the fourth day: They went into the bird-islands; and *without stick, stone-bow, or gun*, they took up the birds with their hands, so many as they would. Fish of every kind swarm about those islands. And for such extraordinary weather, for thunder and lightning, as is reported, I can see no such matter, but better weather than they have in England; and, if we had *been wet by weather, or by wading, we may lay us down, so wet, to sleep*, with a palm-tree leaf or two under us, and one over us, and we sleep soundly, without any taking-cold; your airs in England are far more subject to diseases than these islands are.

“ yet;

“ yet ;—He could not miss it : It must needs
 “ be of subtle, tender and delectate tempe-
 “ rance : Ay, and subtle : The air breathes
 “ upon us here most sweetly :—as if it had
 “ lungs, and rotten ones :—or as if ’twere
 “ *perfum’d* by a *fen*. Here, is every thing
 “ advantageous to life :—True ; save means
 “ to live. How lush, and lusty the grass
 “ looks. *The ground is indeed tawny,—with an*
 “ *eye of green in it*. But, the rarity of it [all]
 “ is, that our garments, being, as they were,
 “ drench’d in the sea, hold, notwithstanding,
 “ their freshness.”

After laughing, in this manner, at such
 absurd descriptions, Shakspeare continues to
 laugh at the colonial policy of that age, which
 made the colonies subject, yet sovereign, de-
 pendent, yet independent, taxable, yet not
 taxable, obedient, yet disobedient :—“ Had I
 a *plantation of this isle*, says Gonzalo, an
honest old counsellor, and *were the king of it*,

I’ the commonwealth, I would, by contraries,
 Execute all things : For, no kind of traffick,
 Would I admit ; no name of magistrate ;
 Letters should not be known ; no use of service,
 Of riches, or of poverty ; no contracts,
 Successions ; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none :
 No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil :
 No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
 And women too, but innocent, and pure :
 No sovereignty :—

All things, in common, nature should produce,
 Without sweat, or endeavour: treason, felony,
 Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
 Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
 Of its own kind, all foizon, all abundance,
 To feed my innocent people.
 I would with such perfection govern, Sir,
 To excell *the golden age* (m).

In

(m) Mr. Malone has clearly shown, that Gonzalo's discourse, both in sentiment, and language, was borrowed from Florio's *Translation* of Montaigne's *Essaies*, which was published, in 1603; [Shak. vol. ii. p. 38.] but our critic did not advert to a material circumstance, in this question, that the second edition of Florio's *Translation* was published, in 1613: And, our commentator is egregiously mistaken, in supposing, that Shakspeare was led, by the perusal of this book, to make the *scene* of the *Tempest* in an unfrequented island; as I have evinced from the Bermudean pamphlets, and other documents, though it is probable, that Shakspeare, when he was writing the *Tempest*, in the winter of 1612-13, may have thrown his eyes on the *second* edition of Florio, and, as he often did, caught at the above-quoted words, which were suitable to his purpose. Shakspeare, as I have already shown, was perfectly acquainted with the *cannibales*, before he could have seen that translation: and he undoubtedly saw much about that *man-eating people*, in the improved edition of Hackluyt's voyages, 1598-1600: Yet, I think it probable, that Shakspeare may have anagramatized *canibal* into *Caliban*. It is, moreover, to be observed, that there is annexed to the *Plaine Description* of the Bermudas, 1613, what would be called, at present, *the fundamental constitution* of the colony, containing some of the contrarieties, which Shakspeare ridicules; particularly, their engagement to defend manfully *the commonwealth we live in*, if any foreign power should

In *the Tempest*, which has so many references to the new-found, and new-settled, world, there is an allusion to a *dead Indian*, that has defied the commentators skill. *Trinculo* says, with more sarcasm, than truth, that, in England, *when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten, to see a dead Indian* (n). It must be remembered, that Shakspeare wrote this, in 16 $\frac{1}{3}$, when he was catching at contemporary topicks. I will endeavour to show the street, where the Indian died, though I pretend not to know the

should attempt to dispossess them,—without *sword, pike, knife, or gun*. The opening of Gonzalo's speech, *Had I a plantation of this isle*, points his discourse to that enchanted spot, and the strain of his sentiments shows how much his sarcasm was levelled at the projects of colonization, which, in the reign of James, were daily circulated by the chartered-companies: The adventurers to Bermudas were sent out by projectors, who had bought the Bermudas from the Virginia Company, to whom the planters promised *suit and service*. Trevet had written of *antartic France*, or the Caribbee islands, before Montaigne: And, Professor Magini, who published, in 1597, his *Geographiae Universae Opus*, has an express chapter, in vol. ii. p. 291:—*Canibalorum, seu Caribum Insulæ*, which includes the whole of the present West-Indies. *Magini* says, that the inhabitants of those islands are dark coloured, without hair, fierce, cruel, and *anthropophagi*.

(n) Steevens's Shak. vol. iii. p. 78.

house,

house, wherein he was to be seen, when dead. Lord Southampton, and Sir Francis Gorges, engaging in voyages of discovery, sent out, in 1611, two vessels under the command of Harlie, and Nicolas, who sailed along the New England coast, where they were sometimes well, and often ill, received, by the natives; and returned to England, in the same year, with *five savages*, on board (o). In 1614, Captain Smith carried out to New England, one of those savages, named *Tantum*; Captains Harlie and Hopson transported, in the same year, two other of those savages, called *Epenow*, and *Manawet*; one of those savages adventured to the European continent; and the *fifth Indian*, of whom no account is given, we may easily suppose died in London, and was exhibited for a show (p). In 1613, *Pocahontas*, the daughter of *Powhatan*, the King of Virginia, marrying Master John Rolfe, went with him to London, where she

(o) Prince's New Eng. Chron. 33. Prince is very dull, but very accurate. Agawam, where Harlie, and Nicolas were well received by the natives, was afterwards called *Southampton*. To those *savages*, Stephano may allude, when he speaks of *savages* and *men of Ind.* All America was then denominated *Ind.*

(p) *Ib.* 39; Smith's N. Eng. 204.

was

was noticed by the King and Queen, was much visited by the fashionable world; and unhappily died at Gravesend, on her return to her native kingdom, in 1617: But, *Pocahontas*, who is greatly praised for her accomplishments, died regretted by every one; and certainly was not exposed for *hapless gain* (q).

The *juggling witchcraft*, which——

“————— safely in harbour,

“ [Laid] the King’s ship; in the deep (r) *nook*, where once

“ Thou

(q) Stith’s Hist. Virg. 123.

(r) The before-quoted *Chauceriana*, 1594, has “*nooke*; corner, or angle:” And, Shakspeare has also, “*nookshotten* isle of Albion.” [Henry 5.] In *the Tempest*, Miranda says,—

“ O my heart bleeds;

“ To think o’ the *teen*, that I have turn’d you to,

“ Which is from my remembrance.”

Mr. Steevens says “*teen* is sorrow, grief, trouble.” So in *Romeo and Juliet*: “to my *teen* be it spoken.” The contemporary *Chauceriana* explains *teene*, to be *vengefull wrath*; *inveterate malice*. Mr. Steevens was the first, who, with his usual recollection, showed, that Shakspeare had borrowed the well-known passage in the *Tempest*, which was converted into a motto for his monument, from Lord Stirling’s DARIUS:

“ And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,

“ *All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.*” DARIUS.

“ And, like this unsubstantial pageant, *faded,*

“ *Leave not a rack behind.*”

TEMPEST.

The

“Thou call’st me up, at midnight, to fetch dew

“From *the still-vex’d Bermoothes,*”

seems still to direct *the Tempest*, with Ariel’s wand, and hath *left asleep* the commentators, *with a charm, join’d to their suffer’d labour.*

When the ever-moralizing Gonzalo is comforting the King, by showing him, that other mortals were subject to similar shipwreck, he adds, as Mr. Malone, and Mr. Steevens, concur to make him speak :

“————— Our hint of woe

“Is common; every day, some sailor’s wife,

“The *masters* of some *merchant*, and the *merchant*,

“Have just our theme of woe.”

Seeing the difficulty, Mr. Malone shut his eyes (s). The vigilance of Mr. Steevens saw *some corruption*, in the passage, while his acumen tried, with unlucky diligence, *to purge this choler, without letting blood.* “We must “suppose,” he remarks, “that by *masters* our “author means the *owners* of a merchant ship, “or the *officers* to whom the navigation of it

The comparison of these similar passages demonstrates, that my amendment of *rack*, which is only a misprint for *recke*, was right; and that Shakspeare meant only to say, as I have observed, that this globe would fade, and leave not a *token* behind.

(s) Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 33.

“ had

“ had been trusted (*t*).” Yet, the corruption will be found not to fester in the word *masters*, so much as in the nonsense, *merchant*, and *the merchant*. I will print, and *point*, Gonzalo’s speech, which contains useful consolation, as I presume to think Shakspeare intended it should be understood:—

“ Beseech you, Sir, be merry: You have cause;

“ So, have we all, of joy: for, our escape

“ Is much beyond our loss: Our hint of woe

“ Is common: every-day, some sailor’s wife;

“ The *master* of some *merchant-man*; the merchant;

“ Have just our theme of woe: but, for the miracle;

“ I mean our preservation, few, in millions,

“ Can speak, like us: then, wisely, good Sir, weigh

“ Our sorrow with our comfort.”

As this fine speech is now printed, and *pointed*, the *rhythm*, and the *reason*, go hand-and-hand together. Shakspeare was thinking, in the *concrete* form, of *the sailor’s wife*, not *wives*; of *the merchant*, not *merchants*: And, if propriety require, that we should continue his concatenation of thought, we must say *the master* of some *merchant-man*, not *masters* of some *merchant-men*. We now perceive, that this faulty line was corrupted, by confounding letters, at the press, [S, S,] and

(*t*) Shak. 1793, vol. iii. p. 52.

misprinting *merchant and*, for *merchant-man* (u).

The *punctuation* of Shakspeare's text is certainly in the power of every commentator, as Johnson observed, though the practice must be regulated, by the context, and the principle governed, by system. This is a curious subject, if it did not apply so pertinently to the Studies of Shakspeare. The celebrated Caxton introduced with the typographic art

(u) Nautical language was not very familiar to the printers of that age: For, we may see, in Hackluyt's Voyages, constant apologies, by the writers of his accounts, for using sailors' terms. It was, however, common, as we may learn from that curious, and instructive, collection, to call a *ship of war*, a *man of war*, a French *ship*, a Frenchman, a Hamburgh ship, a Hamburger, a victualling ship, a *victualler*: But, in glancing my *spectacled eye* over those voyages, I did not see *merchant-man*, for a merchant-ship. We all know how happily our *maker* could compound words, as when he says; "And, "not one vessel 'scape the *merchant-marring* rocks." [Merchant of Venice.] And, the genius of Shakspeare only improved, with his usual happiness, the existing phraseology, when he called a merchant-*ship*, a merchant-*man*; a term, which from that epoch, has continued in our naval language. *Master* was the appropriate word for the commander of a merchant-man, as we may learn from Hackluyt, and indeed from the opening scene of *the Tempest*, in which the chief officer is called *the master* both by the boatswain, and the King,

the

the *Roman* pointing, as it was used, on the continent, by the original race of printers (*v*). Berthelet, the “printer unto the Kinges noble “grace,” who began to print, in 1529, and died, in 1555, seems to me, to have been the first, who introduced the modern *points*, with the exception of the semicolon. In this state, the practice of pointing continued, when the learned Hart, the Chester-Heralt, published his *Orthographie*, in 1569; and Shakspeare was beginning to *prattle wildly*. In a particular section, Hart “briefly writes of distinction; or pointing, which (well observed) “maye yeelde the matter, much the readier “to the senses, as well to the eie as to the “eare. For it sheweth us how to rest: when “the sentence continueth, and when it end- “eth: how to understande what is written,

(*v*) Pinson, the *disciple* of Caxton, who had the honour to introduce the *Roman* letter, printed, without the *ye*, “*Af- “census declynsyons with the playne exposition,*” a grammatical tract, which treats, among other topicks, “*Of the “craft of poynting.*” A short extract will show the manner of our first printers: “*Ther be fwe maner poyntys / and di- “uisiōs most vside with cunnyng men: the which /if they “be wel vsid: make the sentens very light / and esy to be “vnderstōd both to the reder / and the herer. & they be “these: virgil / come / p̄rethesis / playnt point / and in- “terrogatif.*” [Herb. Typ. An. vol. i. p. 301.]

“ and

“ and is not needeful to the sentence: what
 “ some tranſlatour or new writer of a worke,
 “ doth adde more than the author did at firſt
 “ write: and alſo what ſentence is aſking:
 “ and what is wondering: their number is
 “ ſeven; whoſe figures ſollow. The firſt marked
 “ thus [,] *Comma*, and is in reading the ſhorteſt
 “ reſt. The ſecond marked thus [:] *Colon*,
 “ which ſhows that there is more to come.
 “ And the laſt of theſe *three* is a pricke
 “ thus [.] or *period*, to ſignify the end of a
 “ perfect ſentence.—The *parentheſis* [()]
 “ which ſignifieth interpoſition.—No more do
 “ I ſay of the interrogative [?] or admira-
 “ tive [!] but that they are moſt full ſen-
 “ tences of themſelves. There reſteth yet to
 “ ſaye ſomewhat of theſe laſt [], which differ
 “ from the proprietie of the *parentheſis*: for
 “ it is never uſed of the author, but in tran-
 “ ſlations, commentaries, and expoſitions.”

Thus far the intelligent Cheſter-Heralt!
 Now; it is apparent, that he does not notice
 the *ſemicolon*, any more than if it did not exiſt:
 In fact, it did not exiſt, at that epoch. *Bullockar's*
Booke for the Amendment of Orthographie
for Engliſh Speech [1580] does not make any
 uſe of the *ſemicolon*, although he has the other
 points, which were recommended by Hart:

Neither does Stockwood, in his *English Accidence*, 1590, recognize the semicolon, either by his practice, or instruction. Add to all those facts, that THE BIBLE, which was printed, in 1592, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queene's most excellent Majesty, is not pointed with *semicolons*, though it be printed with appropriate accuracy.

We are now arrived, by an illustrative progress, at the epoch, when Shakspeare began to write for the world. And, it is a question, which is curious in itself, and may be useful in the result, how our *great master* pointed his immortal dramas. He, undoubtedly, had read the Orthographies of Hart, and Bullokar, though he, probably, did not regard them with approbation, as far at least, as they proposed innovations. In *Loves Labours Lost*, 1594, our dramatist speaks, contemptuously, of "such *rackers* of *orthography*, as to speak, "dout, fine, when they should say *doubt*:" In *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1600, Shakspeare reiterated his sarcasm, by making Benedict say; "He was wont to speak plain, and to the purpose, like an honest man, and a soldier; but, "now he is turned *Orthographer*; his words "are a very fantastical banquet, just so many "strange dishes:" And, it was, indeed, very

fantastical in Bullokar to propose the change of the established spelling, the new modelling of the whole practice of printing, and the entire alteration of the founder's types. From those considerations, we may rationally infer, that Shakspeare pointed his dramas on the principles of Hart, without *semicolons*, and without regarding the innovations, which, at that epoch, began to gain ground on former practice. It is equally reasonable to suppose, that Spenser's usage was the (*w*) same; as both those great poets concurred, in opposing inno-

(*w*) The first edition of *The Faerie Queene*, 1590, has the *semicolon* sometimes introduced by Ponsonbie, the printer; for Spenser was at a distance from the press: and, there is not a semicolon either in his prefatory letter to Raleigh, or in the recommendatory verses by Raleigh and others to Spenser.—Such was the progress of literature, in the age of Shakspeare, that when Charles Butler published his *English Grammar*, in 1633, he treated particularly *Of Points*; and shows distinctly, that the *semicolon* had been then introduced into our practice, and was perfectly understood: “*Semicolon*, says he, is a point of imperfect sense, in the middle of a *colon*, or period: commonly, when it is a compound axiom; whose parts are joined together, by a double, and sometime by a single conjunction: and it continues the tenour or tone of the voice to the last word, with a *colon* pause: As Rom. xi. 16. If the first fruit be holy; the lump is holy: and if the root be holy; so are the branches.”

ventions

vations in language, and in obstructing the changes of life.

Whatever there may be in those truths, certain it is, that systematic pointing is of the greatest importance to the text of Shakspeare, both for the clearness of his sense, and the energy of his style. For the attainment of those objects, something has been done, though with not much success. But, it would be invidious to apply too rigid rules to the practical failures of self-sufficiency, while a great deal depends on the context, and not a little upon taste. One example shall, however, be given, to illustrate disquisition, rather than to correct practice. Mr. (x) Malone, and Mr. (y) Steevens concur, in giving the well-known speech of Gonzalo, as follows:—"That our garments, being as they were, drench'd in the sea, hold notwithstanding their freshness, and glosses; being rather new dy'd, than stain'd with salt water." Now; for want of a comma, after *bold*, and another, after *notwithstanding*, the sense is obscured, and the style enfeebled: Compare the same speech with itself, as pointed, in the following manner:—"That our garments, being as

(x) Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 35.

(y) Shak. 1793, vol. iii. p. 55.

“ they were, drench’d, in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, [their drenching] their freshness, and glosses; being rather new dy’d, than stain’d, with salt water.” Recent examples have evinced, with sufficient conviction, that the text of Shakspeare is not yet settled: And, this instance affords equal proof, if a thousand passages did not confirm it, that the punctuation of Shakspeare may still be improved by the help of the scholars, antiquaries, and heralds, whose imputed ignorance, the commentators are studious to proclaim. But, of Shakspeare, and his editors, there is no end; of admiration of the one, or of correction of the others. The Believers will submit to a candid court the foregoing specimens, few as they are, to show how well they could write annotations on that great poet, if they were to serve a thirty-years apprenticeship to so useful a trade (z).

When

(z) As a confirmation of that sentiment, the believers will submit one more note. Every one knows how much learning has been wasted on the cur, *Brache*. [Mal. Shak. vol. iii. p. 245.] In Dugdale’s Bar. vol. i. p. 264, there is mention of a Charter by Robert, Earl of Ferrers, in the 43d of Henry 3d; granting “to Sir Walter Releg, and his heirs, liberty to hunt and course the fox, and hare within the precincts of his forest of Needwood, with eight *Braches*,” and

When we look back on the studies of Shakspeare, we may readily perceive, that the poet, who could, in five-and-twenty years, produce five-and-thirty dramas, never had leisure for "the superintendence of a playhouse," whatever Mr. Malone may *say*, Mr. Steevens *repeat*, or the *Miscellaneous Papers* re-echo (a). Shakspeare never was *the manager of his own theatre*, if we may believe record-evidence, rather than loose assertion. The council-registers, and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, concur to demonstrate, that Heminges had the *superintendence* of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and was *the Manager of the Globe*. When the license was granted to the players, in 1603, Shakspeare was not placed at *the head* of the list. In 1605, Phillips regarded our poet as *a fellow*; in 1616,

'and four greyhounds.'—Crompton on Courts, 1594, p. 167; treating of what beasts a man may take in the forest, says: "It is no matter how he do take them, whether it be by hounds, *brachets*, or by engins." The believers concur with Mr. Steevens, that *Brach*, merriman, means merely merriman, *the Brach*: And, what is immediately added of the *deep-mouth'd brach* shows, that Shakspeare understood the word in the sense of Earl Ferrers's Charter, as *a deep-mouth'd hound*, and not a greyhound. The *brachets* were probably little hounds, or *beagles*.

(a) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part i. p. 265; Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. i. p. 477.

Shakspeare considered himself as *a fellow*: And, when the player editors dedicated his dramas to the Earls of Pembroke, and Montgomery, they call him by the equal appellation of *their friend, and fellow*. The studies of Shakspeare, diligent, and attentive, as they were, appear thus to have been never interrupted by *the superintendence of a playhouse*.

The studies of Shakspeare were as little obstructed, by his *attendance at court*, as they were, at any time, by his vexations, as the *manager* of a theatre. His editors have too easily admitted the assertion, that Shakspeare was *a court-poet*. While he was yet animated by *better hope*, our poet address'd his *sugr'd sonnets* to Queen Elizabeth: But, he did not, like Churchyard, follow the court from London to Norwich, and from Norwich to Hampton-court; nor, like Ben Johnson, daily drudge, in providing *masques*, and *mammets*, for the *unadvised revel* of a *new reign*. As a man of the world, Shakspeare only *garnish'd and deck'd*, in *modest compliment*, his *new-year's gifts*, when he *kiss'd his sovereign's hand*; or as a dramatist merely caught at temporary topicks, to please *the million*. But, of his *adulatory verses* to the *great*, if we exclude the sonnets, we have hardly any evidence; and of his encomiastic
verses

verses to *fellow* poets, we have scarcely an example, as the editors have, indeed, remarked.

The studies of Shakspeare appear, to have gained him, in his own age, less distinguished patronage, than popular applause, and reasonable profit. For his sonnets, he seems not to have obtained, from the thrifty Elizabeth, any greater recompence, than her *epistolary praise*, which in *the world's volume* is valued nothing. The *letter of King James*, in our poet's commendation, has only induced unbelievers to *mock at an ancient tradition*. The celebrated patronage of Lord Southampton was too much cumber'd, with *domestick fury*, and *fierce civil strife*, to yield *the poet* and *the player* aught, but *sad invention*. Whether Lord Essex were the patron of Shakspeare, amidst his *giddy courses*, I doubt, if there be any evidence, whatever Mr. Malone may have found. But, we have positive evidence, that the *incomparable paire of brethren*, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery, did *prosecute with much favour* our poet's *dramas*, and *their author living* (b). We have already seen satisfactory proof, although the editors are silent,

(b) The Player Editors Dedication.

that the Earl of Pembroke, as Lord Chamberlain, endeavoured to protect his writings from surreptitious publication, and tried to transmit his fame to *eternal date*.

We are now arrived at the memorable epoch, when Shakspeare's writings were delivered over to *the booksellers*, who are *the great patrons*, in modern times. The publication of four *folio* editions of Shakspeare's dramas, during two-and-sixty years of civil wars, exploded pastimes, and of changeful fashions, evince, that our poet continued to exhilarate the ancient halls; to *shake off downy sleep, death's counterfeit, and to help his votaries to look on death itself*. But, it was not among the gay, alone, that Shakspeare found perusal, or among the serious, that he enforced admiration: The learned yielded him a tribute of applause, which is of higher value far, than the encomiastic verses, which the editors have been diligent to collect. It was at OXFORD, where a dramatic taste of a very different kind prevailed, than at LONDON; and where that tribute was paid, by the award of learning, to the effusions of genius. "A great deal of false wit, and forced humour, which had been the delight of our metropolitan multitude, was only rated there [Oxford] at its bare intrinsic value;

“ value; applaufe was not to be purchafed
 “ there, but by the true fterling, the *fal Atti-*
 “ *cum* of a genius: Shakspeare and Johnfon
 “ had there a fort of *classical authority*; for
 “ whose mafterly fcenes they feemed to have
 “ as implicit a reverence, as formerly, for the
 “ *Etbicks* of Aristotlé; and were as incapable
 “ of allowing moderns to be their competitors,
 “ as of changing their academical habits,
 “ for gaudy colours, or embroidery (c).” —
 But, of commendation, both in verfe, and
 profe, let this fuffice: “ The rather will I
 “ fpare my praifes towards him; knowing
 “ him is enough!”

While Shakspeare was thus admired, by
 the learned, during a period, when the editors
 will hardly allow, that he was read, an edition
 of his *works* was undertaken by Rowe. He *has*
been clamouroufly blamed, fays Johnfon, *for not per-*
forming what he did not undertake. He engaged
 to publish *the works* of Shakspeare; yet, he only
 gave in *fix* volumes, the *dramas* of Shakspeare: In

(c) Such is the testimony, of Colley Cibber, who is an
 indubitable witness, for fuch a fact. [Apology, 385.] As
 the dramatical hiftorian of his *own times*, he is fpeaking of
 the reigns of King William, and Queen Anne, when fuch
 worfhip was offered to Shakspeare, at Oxford.

seven volumes, says Mr. (d) Malone, in opposition to the first page, and the last, which speak of *six*. But, whence this *averment* against the *record*? The answer is, *heedless attention* to the *outside of books*. Edmond Curll, seeing with quicker eyes, added to the six a *spurious* volume, in 1710, consisting of Shakspeare's Miscellaneous Poems, with critical remarks. Pope, Hanmer, and Warburton; all engaged to publish *the works* of Shakspeare, without performing what they undertook: And, they all seem to have thought very feebly of *truth*, and very contemptuously, of *the dull duty of an editor*. Theobald, by having Pope for his enemy, has alone escaped, with reputation, from this undertaking; although he too engaged to publish *the works* of Shakspeare, and performed his engagement, by reprinting only his *dramas*. Theobald's edition, in 1733, may be considered as a national work: For, it was supported by a numerous list of subscribers; of all that were high in rank, dignified by virtue, eminent in place, respectable for learning, and amiable in life: WALPOLE took *six* sets of the royal paper, exclusive of the copies, which

(d) Shakspeare, vol. i. part i. p. 230.

were subscribed for by his family (*e*). Of this general concurrence, let not the purity be suspected, by supposing that, in the veneration for Shakspeare, and support of Theobald, there may have been a little enmity to Pope, who had lately indulged, in quaffing English ale—*unexcis'd by kings*.

This spirit of admiration spread into Scotland, and into Ireland. The editions, which were published there, are treated as *spurious* by Mr. Malone, though I know not the cause. In 1753, the booksellers of Edinburgh published *the works* of Shakspeare; in which the beauties observed by Pope, Warburton, and Dod are pointed out; together with the author's life, a glossary, indexes, and a list of the various readings, in *eight* volumes. They too professed to publish *the works*, though they only intended to re-publish *the dramas* of Shakspeare. But, the great fault of this elegant edition consists, in paying more regard to Pope, than to Theobald, and adopting for the *text* the *whimsies* of Warburton. The *glossary* might, perhaps, be usefully preferred to the glossarial index of the late editions, which, whatever

(*e*) The subscribers names were properly published in the first edition of Theobald, but unfitly left out of the subsequent editions.

may have been its original value, has, in the progress of improvement, been superseded, by a similar work of greater usefulness: Aylough's index is, indeed, of such value, that the student of Shakspeare cannot easily be without what is so helpful to the ignorant, and commodious to the skilful. "The distinguished character of Shakspeare, as a dramatic writer, the great demand for his works, among the learned and polite, and a laudable zeal for promoting home manufactures," says the Edinburgh editor, "were the principal motives for undertaking an edition of his works in Scotland." This laudable zeal has seldom been avowed, though it always has its influential share, in every edition of Shakspeare. Thus the studies of Shakspeare, in addition to their other merits, have greatly promoted home manufactures. But, here must our revels end!

Such is the Appendix, to the supplemental Apology, which the believers presume to submit to the true decision of this equitable court. They were accused, as it will be easily remembered, of knowing nothing of the studies of Shakspeare, a subject, which, though allowed, by their accuser, to be sufficiently obscure, has been little enlightened, by his labours. Their apology

apology is, that they have been able, without pretensions to knowledge, to throw new lights on the more retired studies of Shakspeare; that they have illustrated the dark, and disintangled the knotty; that they have even had the luck, rather than the talents, to rectify the *hallucinations* of their accuser himself, notwithstanding his pretences to accuracy. In these views of their apology, they will, with hope, submit to this court that,

“ Now must *your conscience their acquittance seal.*”

— § XII. —

THE GENERAL CONCLUSION.

The question, which is now under the consideration of this court, is not without its importance, whether it relate to the reputation of the scholars, antiquaries, and heralds, in pretending to judge of a subject, that they did not understand; or it refer to the character of their accuser, in bringing a charge, and casting imputations, that he has failed to support.

In an age of discovery, when the minds of intelligent men are inflamed with an ardour of inquiry, *Miscellaneous Papers*, which were attributed to Shakspeare, were exhibited to the eye of curiosity, and offered to the judgment

ment of intellect, with all the appearances of age, and the usual concomitants of authenticity. The believers applied to those Papers the same maxims of investigation, as are safely used in daily life; because they are natural to man: And, they were thus induced to argue *of and concerning* those papers, upon principles of PROBABILITY; because *religion, law, and life* admit of no other principles of reasoning, than those of PROBABILITY. On the other hand, the public accuser argued wholly from suggestions of POSSIBILITY; continually crying out, without inspection, or examination, that those *Miscellaneous Papers* could not *possibly* be genuine. The parties are at issue upon this point. And the believers submit to this court, that they are *right*, and he is *wrong*; because, the same logic, and philosophy, which are always applied to *physics*, and *metaphysics*, must necessarily be applicable to Shakspeare, and his editors.

But, waving such considerations, the public accuser insists, “that there is no *external* “evidence, that can give any credibility to “those manuscripts, or entitle them to a serious consideration.” The believers are now at issue on *a fact*. Without disputing with him, at this *late hour*, about what is properly

properly *external evidence*; they submit, that the vast volume of *Prolegomena*, which is now prefixed to the dramas of Shakspeare, is *external evidence*; particularly those *documents*, whence Mr. Malone inferred himself, and induced others to infer, that *Miscellaneous Papers* of Shakspeare do exist, and may yet be found; the confession of faith of John Shakspeare is external evidence; the Sonnets, which were addressed by Shakspeare to Elizabeth, are external evidence; *every document*, which, forming no part of the *Miscellaneous Papers* exhibited, could induce the believers to argue upon principles of probability, is *external evidence*, whatever *illogical minds* may think upon the point.

When the *Miscellaneous Papers* passed from Norfolk-street to the world, every one could examine at leisure, what they had seen in haste, or heard of from report. The public accuser now *racked* their *orthography*; criticised their language; and examined their dates. The believers again joined issue with him on these points: They have met him face to face, and foot to foot: To this court they submit, that they have *rectified his own dates*; that they have disproved his allegations, about the language of Shakspeare's age; that they have
shown,

shown, there was, in that period, no system of orthography, which could form a *standard*. If, on those several heads of discussion, the public accuser did not know, that his assertions were ungrounded, he comes with a very bad grace into this court to ask for judgment against others, on an accusation of *ignorance*: If he did know, that his assertions were groundless, he comes with a still worse grace to pray for punishment of others on a charge of crimes.

The public accuser, however, confidently accused the believers of ignorance of the history of *the Stage*; of their ignorance of the studies of Shakspeare: On these several charges, they are in the judgment of this court, who will determine, which of the parties have made the most discoveries on those subjects, and have thereby shown the most *accurate* knowledge; he, whose days and nights have been occupied about Shakspeare, during thirty years; or they, who read Shakspeare, as a relaxation of life.

In their turn, the believers will appeal to the equity of this court, both as to his *matter*, and *manner*: They submit, that he has failed egregiously in both: And they pray, that in consideration

consideration of his *bad pleading*, he be adjudged, by this critical court, to *new write* his *Prolegomena to Shakspeare*; to correct his opinions, by the *documents*, which the believers have put into his hands; and to adjust his *dates*, by the *records*, that the objects of his prosecution have quoted.

On the whole; the believers flatter themselves that, in making their Apology, they have done an useful service to Shakspeare, and to truth, by the discoveries, which they have certainly made, and the corrections, that must necessarily ensue: They have brought documents enow into court, to prove incontrovertibly, that notwithstanding the daily assertions of Shakspeare's editors, much curious matter has been found, which had escaped their thirty years researches. The believers are so confident, in the truth of this position, that they will humbly pray this court, for an injunction of silence on the said editors, that they do no more boast, in their daily habits, of their own sufficiency, and of others ignorance; of nothing to be found, about Shakspeare, after their discoveries; on such pain, as may thereupon ensue; of the contempt of the wise, and the ridicule of the flippant. The

believers, finally, submit their Apology, by accomodating to this profecution Othello's well-known speech :

“ Let him do his spite :
“ Our services, which we have hereby done to *Shakspeare*
“ Shall out-tonge his complaints. 'Tis yet to know,
“ Which, when we know that boasting is an honour,
“ We shall promulgate.”

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

THE APPENDIX.

— N° I. —

SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed off, I have received from Edinburgh the subjoined ordinances of King James and his council *Anent the Inglish Commedians*, which are subjoined; as they are curious in themselves; and illustrate the obscure history of the Scottish stage. [See before, page 418.] Archbishop Spottiswood is so accurate, in his account of what passed, in consequence of the license given to *the Inglish Commedians*, that we may suppose he had seen the *two* following ordinances, which are now published from *the Acts and Decrets of the Secrete Council*, No. 6. fol. 155-159. My active, and intelligent, correspondent, at Edinburgh, could not discover, in any of the records there, *the License to the Inglish Commedians*, which would have shown the names of the players, and the motives of their appearance at that city. There is, however, enough of evidence to

fatisfy accurate minds, that there is no probability in the surmise of Mr. Malone, “that King James solicited Queen Elizabeth, in 1599, to send a company of English comedians to Edinburgh.” [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 39.]

ORDINANCE *against the* FOURE SESSIONS of the
BURGH of EDIN^R.

Apud Haliruidhous octavo Novembris *lxxxxix*^o. [1599].

The Kings Majestie and Lords of his Secret Counsell Considering the lait Contempt and indignitie done to his hienes be the foure Sessiones of the Burgh of Edinburgh in taking upon thame be a public Act to contramand the warrant and libertie grantet be his hienes to certain Commedians to play within the said Burgh and in ordaining thair Ministeres publicklye to discharge thair fokes to repair to the saidis Commedies They having nawayes acqweinted his Majesty of before with ony lawful Caus or ground moving thame thereunto Nor no uther wayes acknowledging his hienes as they Aucht and Sould have done afoir thay had sa avowedlie opponet thamselvis to his Majesties warrant and direction foresaid Therefore his Majestie and the saidis Lordis ordainis an Officer of Arms to pas to the Mercate Croce of Edin^r. and thair be open proclamation in his hienes name and authority to Command and Charge the hail persones of the saidis foure Sessiones Becaus they are an multitude to convene thameselvis in thair accustomed place of convening within three hours next after the said Charge And thair be ane special Act to cass annull and Discharge the uther Act foresaid And with that to gif ane special ordinance

ordinance and direction to thair hail Ministres that they after thair Sermond upon the next Sunday publicklye admoneshe thair awne flockis to reverence and obey his Majestie and to declair to thame that thay will not restreane nor censure ony of thair flockes that fall repair to the saidis Comedies and Playis considering his Majestie is not of purpose or intention to authorise allow or command ony thing quhilk is prophane or may carry ony offence or sclander with it. And to charge thame hereto under the pain of rebellion and putting of thame to the horne And to charge the saidis Ministers that thay after their saids Sermonds conforme thamefelfis to the direction and ordinance to be set doune be the saidis Sessiones hereanent under the said pane of rebellion &c and gif ony of the saidis perones disobays to denunce the disobeyanes Rebellis &c.

Anent the INGLISHE COMMEDIANS.

Apud Haliruidhous decimo Novembris *lxxxxix*^o. [1599.]

Forfameikle as the Kings Majestie having granted an Warrant & Libertie to certain Inglishe Commedians to play within the Burgh of Edinburgh Zit upone sum finifter and wrangous Reporrt made to the foure Sessions of the Kirk of Edinburgh be Certain Malicious and Restles Bodyes wha upon every licht occasioun misconstroweis his Majestys hail doinges and minfinterpreitis his heines guid intentiones quhatsumevir The saidis foure Sessiones were movit very raschlie and unadvisedly to contramand be ane publick Act his Majesties said Warrant And thairwithall ordainit thair Ministers to publishe the said Contramand and to threaten the Censure of the Kirk againes the Contravenars thereof unacquainting his Majestie of befoir with ony lauchful Ground or Caus moving thame thereto with the quhilk thair errour and oversicht they being now

better advifit and having all convenit on this mater and willing nawife to be contentious with his Majestie, bot in all reverence and humilitie to obey his hienes as becomes gude and obedient subjectes In respect of the pruis quhilk they have ever had of his Majestie that his hienes has not commandit nor allowit any thing carreying with it ony offence or Sclander They after the dew acknowledging of their former errour rasche and unadvised proceedinges have now be another Act cassed annullit and discharged thair former Act foresaid And hes ordainit the same to be ineffectual hereafter with the admonitiones given conforme thereto be the Ministeres to their flockis in manner foresaid sa that now not only may the saidis Commedians freely enjoy the benefite of his Majesties libertie and warrant granted to thame Bot all his Majesties subjects inhabitants within the said Burgh and utheres quhatsumever may freele at thair awin plesour repair to the saidis Comedies and Playes without ony pane skaith censuring reproach or sclander to be incurrit be thame thairthrow or to be *uncensureit* or fund fault with be the Ministeres Magistrates or Sessionis of the said Burgh in ony wyse notwithstanding the first Act foresaid and admonition given conform thairto or ony others the like Acts and admonitiones to be maid and geven hereafter without his Majesties consent and allowance And ordaines Officers of Arms to pass to the Market Croce of Edinr. and thair be open proclamation mak publication hereof Quhairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same.

Aberdeen, 13 May 1635.

Licence was granted to George Jameson, painter, to build, make policy, and plant, in and about that plot of ground, called *the Play-field*, belonging to the town, where *comedies were wont to be acted of old*, near the well of Spaw, and a life rent lease thereof was given him. He was to build and plant upon it, and to fortify it against the violence of
speats,

speats, [floods] all on his own charges, and at his death, it was to belong to the town. [MS. extracts from the records of the city of Aberdeen.] It seems he improved it to excellent advantage. Jameson built a summer-house of timber in his garden, which he adorned with painting, which was much admired in that time. But, of this, there is not now [1750] the least vestige. That spot of ground, which lies low to the west of the well of Spaw, Woolman, or Woman Hills, is now a bleaching-green. Formerly the students at the grammar-school played there at the butts, and the victor, got the silver arrow, which was kept in the school. [MS. Notes.]

N^o II.

The subjoined extracts from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, which was found in *the old chest*, at Ribbesford, came to hand after the foregoing sheets were printed; and are now added as useful notices, in respect to his life:—

I was sworn King James his servant by Sr George Reeve on ordinary Gentleman of his Privy Chamber. 20th March 1621, at Whitehall.—It pleased the King att my Lord Chamberlanes motion to sende for mee unto his bedchamber by James Palmer and to Knighte mee with my Lorde Marquis Hamilton's sworde. He was pleased likewise to bestowe many good words upon mee & to receive mee as Mr of his Revells, att Wilton, this 7 of Aug. 1623.—I sente the certificate of my Knitehood under my Lord Chamberlines hande to the Earle Marshall & hereupon he certified to the Office of the Harolds & twas entered in their booke the 14th Aug^o. 1623. The Harolds had no fee, but the Lord Marshals Secretary 10^o.

— N° III. —

In the accounts of Henry the 7th are the following items:—

[1492]	7th year	—to my Lorde of Oxon pleyers in rewarde	20s.
[1494]	9th	—to the Kings Pleyers for a reward - - -	53s. 4d.
		—to Walter Alwyn for <i>the</i> <i>Revells</i> at C'tennes	£. 13 6s. 8d.
		—To Walter Alwyn in full payment forthe disguyfing made at Christennes - -	£. 14. 13s. 4d.
		—to the Pleyers of Wym- borne Mynyftre -	20s.
[1495]	10	—to three Pleyers of Wy- combe in rewarde	13s. 4d.
		—to the Frenshe Pleyers in rewarde - -	40s.
	14	—to the Pleyers with mametts [puppets.]	
	16	—to the Pleyers at Myles Ende - - - -	3s. 4d.
[1502]	17	—to John Englishe, the Pleyer - - - -	10s.
[1503]	18	—to the Pleyers of St. Al- bones - - - -	10s.
		—to the Pleyers of Effex in rewarde - -	20s.

In the accounts of Henry the 8th are the following items:—

[1513]	4 Nov ^r . 5 year	—to Willm Wyn- nesbery lorde of Myf-	
--------	-----------------------------	---	--

rule

rule upon a Warr.

signed for his busynes

this Cristemes next £.13. vjs. 8d.

[1514] 6 y^r. 1 Jañy—Item to therle of

Wiltysfhir Players

that shulde have play-

ed in the Kings hall

oppon Thursdaye

13s. 4d.

—to the Kings olde Play-

ers in rewarde - £.4.

7 Jañy—Item to the Kings Play-

ers in rewarde -

66s. 8d.

[1516] 8th y^r 8 Mar—To Mr. Cornishe

of the Chapell for his

rewarde for a play

which was plaid upon

Sheroftewisday - £.6. 13s. 4d.

Mem: John English, the player, who was paid *ten* shillings by Henry the 7th, in 1502, is the same comedian, who, with his *companions*, accompanied the Lady Margaret from Windfor to Edinburgh, in 1503; and played *moralities* at her marriage with James, the fourth. [See before, p. 416.] And, it is curious to remark, that John English, who is now introduced to the lovers of the drama, is the earliest *manager*, of players, who has hitherto been discovered.

Aberdene, 1503, July 24.

Ten pounds were assigned to the *common menstralis*, to furnish them to the passage [for their journey] with the Alderman, and other honourable neighbours, to the *feast* of the *Kings marriage*, at command of his highness, and to the pleasure of his Majesty. [MS. extracts from the city-records of *Aberdeen*.]

— N° IV. —

There is a *witchbery* about the name of SHAKSPEARE, which gives an interest to every thing, that is, in any manner, connected with him. We naturally wish to know the state of *the town*, where he was born, in 1564, and died, in 1616, while he was yet *little declined into the vale of years*. In 1614, much of Stratford-upon-Avon was burnt. The subjoined letters from the council-registers will show the cause of that calamity, which involved our poet, in danger, and the measures, that were taken to prevent similar misfortunes :

A Letter from the Privy Council to the Bailiff, chief Alderman, and Town Clerk, for the time being, of Stratford-upon-Avon; dated the 16th March 1618.

Wee send you here inclosed a petition exhibited unto us, on the behalf of that Borough of *Stratford upon Haven*, wherein is humbly represented unto us, the great and lamentable loss happened to that Town by casualty of Fire, which, of late years, hath been very frequently occasioned by means of thatched Cottages, Stacks of Straw, Furzes, and such like combustibile stuff, which are suffered to be erected and made confusedly in most of the principal parts of the Town without restraint. And which being still continued cannot but prove very dangerous, and subject to the like inconveniences; and therefore we have thought meet for the better safety and securing that Town from future Danger, hereby to authorize and require you to take Order
that

that from hence forward there be not any house or Cottage, that shall be erected by any Owner of Land or other suffered to be thatched, nor any Stacks or piles of Straw or Furzes made in any part of that Town either upon the Streets or elsewhere that may any way indanger the same by Fire as formerly, but that all the houses and Cottages to be hereafter built within the Town be covered with Tyles or Slates, and the foresaid Stacks and Piles removed to fit and convenient places without the Town. And for the houses and Cottages already built and covered with Straw there, wee do likewise require you to cause the same to be altered and reformed, according to these directions with as much expedition as may stand with convenience and as the safety and welfare of that Town may any way require. Herein Wee require you to take Order accordingly, in case of any opposition to these our directions whereby the performance of the same may be interrupted or stayed to make Certificate unto us of the Names of such as shall not conform themselves accordingly that such further Order may be taken therein as shall be expedient. And so &c.

But, those salutary orders of the privy-council were not altogether obeyed. And, George Badger, William Shawe, and John Beeseley, alias Coxie, inhabitants of that borough, were brought before the privy-council, on an accusation of disobedience: Yet, they were soon discharged; as they were not rigorously prosecuted: These facts, we may learn from the subjoined *Letter of the Privy-council*, dated the 26th of November, 1619:—

You shall understand that complaint was made unto us by a petition in the name of the Bailiff and Burgeffes of the
Town

Town of Stratford-upon-Haven, That whereas there was an Order lately made at this Board restraining the use of thatching of houses and Cottages in that Town, to prevent and avoid the danger and great loss by Fire that of late time hath often happened there by means of such thatched houses to the utter ruin and overthrow of many the Inhabitants. These three parties George Badger William Shawe and John Beeley, refusing to conform themselves to our said Order, had in contempt thereof erected certain thatched houses and Cottages to the ill example of others and the endangering of the Town by the like casualty of fire. Whereupon they being convened before us, for as much as they do absolutely deny that they have shewed any such disobedience at all to our said Order, nor committed any manner of Act contrary thereunto since the publication of the same in that Town: And that the party that exhibited the Complaint against them in the name of the Town, did not appear to make good his information. Wee have thought good to dismiss the said Badger, Shaw, and Beeley for the present. And withal to pray and require you to take due examination of the foresaid Complaint which you shall receive here inclosed and upon full information of the Truth thereof to make Certificate unto us, of what you find therein, that such further Order may be taken as shall be meet. And so &c.

During the age of Shakspeare, howeyer, the other towns of England were in the same state of wretchedness. On a complaint from the Univerfity of *Cambridge* “ that much casualty
 “ hath happened by fire, in that town, oc-
 “ casioned by houses, and cottages, being
 “ thatched with reed, and straw,” the privy-
 council,

council, on the 2d of June 1619, issued an order, “ that no houses, cottages, &c. be built “ without the builders thereof engagè to “ cover the same with slates, or tiles.” [Council-reg^r.] Let us now look at *London*: In 1567, the Royal Exchange was first built. In 1571, *Wapping* was first begun to be built on its *seabank*. In 1571, about which time *the Curtain* theatre was erected, *White-chapel* was first paved. In 1590, London was inhabited by about 160,000 people. In 1603, London and Westminster, which were once a mile asunder, were, about this time, gradually joined together, by buildings. In 1605, the village, called St. Gyles’s in the fields remained still unconnected with the town; and was now, as well as Drury-lane, first paved. In 1613, West Smithfield was first paved. In 1618, the suburb, called Lincoln’s-inn-fields, was first adorned. [Vid. the Chron. Index to Anderf. Commerce. Art. London.]

— N^o V. —

All the art, and industry, of the commentators have been used to free Shakspeare from the imputation of *having poisoned the hour of confidence and festivity*, by writing a malignant

epitaph on John-a-Combe, who bequeathed our poet a legacy of five pounds. This was John Combe of Welcombe, in the parish of Stratford-upon-Haven, who made his will, on the 28th of January 1612-13, which was proved November 10, 1615; and who was buried at Stratford, on the 11th of July 1614, at the premature age of fifty-three. His eldest son, and heir, was William Combe of Welcombe, who died, at the same place, January 30, 1666-7, aged eighty: His second son was Thomas Combe, to whom Shakspeare bequeathed *his sword*, and who died also at Stratford, in July 1657, aged sixty-eight. Shakspeare, we may recollect, devised to his daughter Susannah all his hereditaments, lying
 “ within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields,
 “ and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old
 “ Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe.” [Mal. Shak. vol. i. part i. pag. 121: Steevens’s Shak. 1793, vol. i. p. 22-97.] Now; weighing all those circumstances, with the following *documents*, which were copied from the council-registers, it appears to me more than probable, that John Combe, attempting to inclose, and to turn to pasture, four hundred acres of land, *to the prejudice of the poor*, thereby made himself odious to the people; and was, therefore, libelled,

libelled, in various verses, by the *minor poets* of Stratford: And, William Combe, continuing his father's measures, was opposed by the Bailiffe and Burgesfes of Stratford - upon - Haven; who obtained the subjoined interdict from the privy-council:—

A Letter from the Privy-council to the Master of the Rolls, and Sir Edward Coke, Knight; dated the 14th February 1618.

By the inclosed petition you shall perceive the complaint made unto us on the behalf of the Bailiffs and Burgesfes of Stratford upon Haven in the County of Warwick concerning an inclosure of 400 Acres of Arable land intended to be turned into pasture by William Combe of Welcombe in the said parish [of] Stratforde to the prejudice of the Tithes of Corn and Grain employed to divers charitable uses the particulars whereof will by the petition appear unto you.— Forasmuch as we find that you are already acquainted with this cause, and that at the Affizes in Lent 13th of His Majesty upon a petition there exhibited, it was then ordered that no such Inclosure should be made there, nor any decay of Tillage admitted untill good cause should be shewed to the Judges, in open Affizes to the contrary. And that the same Order was likewise confirmed by the Judges there 15th of The King.—We have thought meet hereby to pray and require you taking to your assistance the Justices of Affize of the County of Warwick, if you shall so think fit, to call as well the said Combe, as the petitioners before you, and upon hearing of the cause, to order such a course therein for the relief of the petitioners, as shall be agreeable to Justice, or otherwise to certify us your opinion of the same, that such further Order may be taken as shall be meet. And so &c.

A Letter

A Letter from the Privy-council to William Combe Esq^r. of Welcombe, in the County of Warwick, dated the 12th March 1618:—

It is not unknown unto you what course hath been held here in the examination of the complaint exhibited to this Board against you, on the behalf of the Bailiffs and Burgessees of the Town of Stratford upon Haven concerning the inclosing of a certain quantity of Arable Land converting the same into pasture, and other proceedings of yours therein, to the great prejudice both of the Church and the Poor of that Town, in taking away the Tithes of Corn and Grain employed to divers charitable and public uses there. And forasmuch as it appeareth that there have been certain Orders conceived and set down in this Case by the Justices of Assize of that County with consent of all parties prohibiting the Inclosure of these Lands, converting the Arable Ground into pasture, and ploughing up of the green Sward of the Meeres and Banks: It is held meet and Just, that those Orders be confirmed, and that whatsoever hath been since committed or done contrary to the same be forthwith reformed. And therefore we do hereby straitly charge and require you to take present Order, that the inclosures contained in the Certificate of Sir Richard Verney &c and which have been made contrary to the aforesaid Orders set down in open Assizes be forthwith laid open as formerly they were. As also that the Land converted into pasture be again made Arable for Corn and Grain according to the course of Husbandry there. And lastly that the Meeres and Banks be restored and made perfect. Whereof we require you to have that due care as is meet, and to see these directions fully accomplished and observed until such time as the Justices of Assize for that County shall upon judicial hearing take other Order therein.— Whereof you may not fail as you will answer the contrary at your peril. And so &c.

— N^o VI. —

It was deemed a proper attention to Mr. Malone, and to Mr. Waldron, to republish, in this Appendix, their retractions, and explanations, as far as they have appeared in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE:—

15th April.

Mr. Urban,

In my late inquiry into the authenticity of the pretended Shakspeare MSS. (p. 318; n. 193), I have said that the French had not the words “*deranger nor derangement*” in the time of Shakspeare. But this was a mistake, into which I was led by looking into Cotgrave's dictionary for those words as they are now spelt. He has, I find, “*desfrangé and desfranger*” (which was the spelling of his time); but not *desfrangement*. This, however, does not at all affect my principal argument in that place; for, all that I was bound to shew was, that we had not the English words formed from them till above a century afterwards; and this I have shewn. [From this embarrassment, Mr. Malone might have more easily extricated himself, by looking into *the Interpreter of Cowel*, who was the contemporary of Shakspeare, in *Vo. Deraign*, or *Dereign*.—“*Lastly, in some places, the substantive deraign-ment is found used in the very literal signification of the French derayer, or disfranger, that is, turning out of course.*”]

At the same time that I mention this slight oversight, permit me to notice two errors which escaped me when I was making the table of errata. In p. 93, l. ult. of text, for novice read novice; and, in p. 254, l. 15, for twenty read twenty-seven.

E. M.

25th April.

One word more, Mr. Urban, with your leave, on the Shakspeare forgery. I was perfectly aware (as I have mentioned in my book) of the difficulty of establishing a negative proof; and, therefore, was not surpris'd to find that I had been mistaken in the objection made in p. 164 to "*heaven*," being employed in one of these spurious MSS. as a disyllable. I now recollect that it is so used in *MACBETH*:—

“ Hear it not, Duncan! for it is a knell,
“ That summons thee to heaven, or to hell.”

The insipidity, however, of the water-gruel composition where this word is found, remains still perfect and unrivalled.

[A *thirty-years-critic* on Shakspeare might have known, without recollection, that *our master* generally uses *heaven*, as a *monosyllable*, and but sometimes as a *disyllable*. Such a critic might have also known, that Spenser, with the poetic license, uses *heaven*, both as a monosyllable, and as a disyllable, very frequently, in *The Ruins of Time* :

“ The world's late wonder, and the *heavens* new joy.
“ Yet, 'ere his happy soul to *heaven* went.”

The *insipidity* of *water-gruel* is nothing to the perusal of *the scribble* of a critic, who pretends to know every thing, without knowing any thing distinctly.]

P. 85. l. 8, for *Angliæ*, r. *Anglis*.

P. 226. l. 14, dele *Henry*; for I find he was christened by the names of Henry Frederick.

E. M.

20th May.

By an error of the press, one of the corrections of the "*Vindication of Shakspeare*," which I sent you last month, could not be understood. The reference was to p. 229, where Henry Prince of Wales, is said to have had but one

Christian name; whereas, in truth, as appears from a passage in Camden's Remains, 4^o 1605, which had escaped me, he was baptized by the names of Henry-Frederick.

[Yet; even with the help of Camden, our critic does not depart from his groundless position, that there were not, in the age of Shakspeare, any instances of *two* names of baptism: Nor, does he recollect, that the baptism of Henry-Frederick was set forth in Birch's *Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*, 1760.]

As I have thus once more had occasion to say a word on this subject, and I am desirous of giving as little trouble as may be to whoever may answer the "Vindication" (if at the end of eight weeks an Answerer shall come into the field), I beg leave to add a few more corrections.

P. 96. l. 2, Coriphæus. r. Coryphæus; p. 138. l. 5, from the bottom, for Chinsè, r. Chinesè; p. 189. l. 2, for have, r. haue; and in p. 190. l. 10, the same correction should be made. In p. 193 l. 8 and 10, the word "and" is twice printed by the mistake of the Compositor, instead of the abbreviation &. P. 338, n. for Anderfocn alls (the letters have been misplaced at the press) r. Anderson calls.

In p. 79, I have expressed a doubt concerning the antiquity of the word excellence, as applied to written compositions, but lately have found reason to believe that this word was thus used in Shakspeare's time.

E. M.

Feb. 7.

Mr. Urban,

Having only truth in view, I am anxious to acknowledge the smallest error I may have fallen into. In pp. 11, 12, of "Free Reflections on Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, under the Hand and Seal of William Shakspeare;" I have said that "Whimzies," &c. the title of a book printed in 1631, "is the earliest instance I can recollect of any word like Whymfycalle." Since the publication

lication of that pamphlet, I have observed that Whimsy occurs so early as in the first edition of "Ben Johnson his "Volpone, or the Foxe." 4to. 1607. the third act of which begins thus :

Mofca.

" I feare, I shall begin to grow in love
 " With my deare selfe, and my most prosp'rous parts,
 " They do so spring, and burgeon; I can feele
 " A whimsy I' my blood."

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform the several persons who have honoured me with their enquiries; that the entire MS. of "The Virgin Queen," from which some extracts have been printed, is in the possession of your constant reader.

F. G. Waldron.

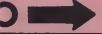






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